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Contributions To Nepalese Studies

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Table of Contents

Is Newari a Classifier Language ? 1 Austin Hale and Iswaranand Shresthachrya.	PP 1- 21
Image Casting in Oku Bahal. Ian Alsop and Jill Charlton.	PP 22- 49
How Jang Bahadur Established Rana Rule in Nepal. Madhav Raj Pandey.	PP 50- 63
सम्बा: एक अर्थ प्रमणशील जाति नवीन कुमार राई.	पि पि ६४-७८
लिच्छविकालको कर व्यवस्था धनवज्र बज्राचार्य.	पि पि ७६-८५
Review Article 1	
Kirkpatrick's An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. Prayag Raj Sharma.	PP 96-105
Book Department.	PP 106-132
(a) Short Reviews.	
Karmay, S.G. : The Treasury of Good Saying. (A.W. Macdonald)	
Van Kooij, K.R.: Worship of the Goddess According to the Kālikāpurāṇa. (A.W. Macdonald)	
Caplan, L. : Land and Social Change in East Nepal. (D.P. Rajaure and D.R. Dahal.)	
Trier, J. : Ancient Paper on Nepal. (N.K. Rai)	
(b) Annotated Bibliography. Bharat Gyawali and S.B. Thakur	

ANNOUNCEMENT

This is the first issue of the research journal, "CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES," the journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies. It is published twice a year, in June and December, and carries articles on diverse subjects of social science studies such as Art, History, Sociology, Anthropology, Linguistics, Economics, Panchayat, Administration, Political science etc. It also contains reviews of books and articles concerning Nepal in the field of social science. These reviews should be the critical evaluation of such works and not be mere indications of their content. Scholars, academicians, teachers and researchers are, henceforth, requested to send articles addressed to the chief editor of the journal in the Institute at Kirtipur Campus. The journal is also the medium to publish research materials written by young Nepalese research workers. It would definitely give preference on the materials contributed by them. Material may be submitted in English or Nepali and should be neatly typed in double space, with complete reference. Authors will retain copyright to their published material. The views expressed in the journal are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the responsible editor or the board of editors or the Institute unless specifically mentioned. Accepted materials will be suitably remunerated. All materials for consideration should reach the Institute three months before the journal's publication date. Any question concerning style and preparation of articles should be made at the Institute's office in Kirtipur campus.

Is Newari a Classifier Language ?¹

Austin Hale and Iswaranand Shresthachrya

Joseph Greenberg in a paper presented to the XIth International Congress of Linguists in Bologna in 1972 sought to determine the conditions under which a non-classifier language might become a classifier language. In approaching this question he was obliged to raise the prior question as to the definition of the linguistic type to which we refer as 'classifier language.' His study was based upon over a hundred different classifier languages spoken in all parts of the world, but no mention was made of Newari. In a later paper Mary Sanches [1973] does make mention of Newari but indicates that from the sources available to her it was not entirely clear whether Newari actually has numeral classifiers or not. The purpose of this paper is to take a look at Newari in the light of Greenberg's study with a view toward determining whether Newari is to be considered a classifier language or not, and if so upon what basis.

I. ANALOGICAL PREREQUISITES.

One of the important results of Greenberg's study is a set of implicational universals of the form, 'If a language is a classifier language, it will have characteristic X.' A statement of this form claims that no classifier language will lack the listed characteristic but it does not claim that only classifier languages will have these characteristics. Furthermore, these implicational universals are empirical, not definitional. It is therefore conceivable that a classifier language could be found in which the implicational universal would be violated in that the relevant characteristic would be lacking. It will be of interest, therefore, to examine Newari briefly in the light of these implicational universals. We will ask what characteristics are thus far universally shared by classifier languages and whether Newari possesses these characteristics or not.

Non-unit counters. According to Greenberg's implicational universals, if a language is a classifier language, it will have non-unit counters. A language can have non-unit counters and not be a classifier language. Non-unit counters may be thought of as providing a pattern which can be taken as part of the analogical basis for the development of true classifier constructions. English, which is a non-classifier language, has non-unit counters.

1. a bunch of carrots.

2. a stack of books.

3. a heap of beans.

Non-unit counters are characterized by the fact that they name sets which are indeterminate in number. Newari also has non-unit counters.

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 4. saphuu cha-pa | a stack of books. |
| 5. su cha-kale | a sheaf of straw. |
| 6. tarkāri cha-thu | a bunch of vegetables ² |
| 7. swāā cha-jwāā | a bouquet of flowers |

Both English and Newari possess part of the analogical basis for the development of true classifiers. English has not developed such a system. Examples 4 through 7 do not constitute evidence that Newari is a classifier language, but only that if it is a classifier language it obeys one of Greenberg's implicational universals.

Quasi-unit counters. A language can have quasi-unit counters and still not be a classifier language, though if Greenberg's implicational universal holds true, no classifier language lacks quasi-unit counters. The hypothesis is that a language which lacks quasi-unit counters will not become a classifier language without first developing quasi-unit counters. Greenberg distinguishes two kinds of quasi-unit counters: those which name countable units which lack wholeness and internal structure and those which name units which function as particulates. English has both kinds. Counters which name units which lack structured wholeness may be illustrated by constructions of the following sort.

8. slice of bread
9. piece of meat
10. sheet of paper

Slices, pieces, and sheets are examples of countable units which lack wholeness and internal structure. To show the difference between this kind of unit and units which are structured wholes, Greenberg notes that if we cut a piece of meat in two we will have two pieces, whereas if we cut a structured whole such as a dog or an automobile in two we have, not two dogs or two automobiles but a single dog [a dead one] and a single automobile [a wrecked one]. Newari also has quasi-unit counters of this sort.

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 11. lā cha-kuu | a piece of meat |
| 12. bhwãa cha-pāā | a sheet of paper |
| 13. cā cha-dhii | a lump of clay |
| 14. jā cha-kha | a serving of rice |
| 15. jā cha-pee | a mouthful of rice |

Particulates have another set of characteristics. Greenberg illustrates these characteristics with the following English examples.

- 16. a grain of sand
- 17. a blade of grass
- 18. strand of hair

These units are internally structured wholes but they are rarely used for counting. As units they are small, lack individuality, and the heads which they quantify [sand, grass, and hair] approach the status of liquids. The function of these units is to particularize mass nouns. Their universe of numeration is largely limited to quantifiers such as a, one, a bit, not a, and the like. Newari also has quasi-unit counters of this sort.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 19. laa cha-phuti | a drop of water |
| 20. jāki cha-gaa | a grain of rice |
| 21. sã cha-pu | a strand of hair |
| 22. ghā̃e cha-pu | a blade of grass |

The examples given thus far still do not prove that Newari is a classifier language. They only indicate that Newari possesses the analogical basis for the development of true classifiers. The Newari counters presented thus far are quite well matched by similar counters in English, which is generally viewed as a non-classifier language.

Measure constructions. Greenberg notes that not all languages have measure constructions. Hopi is one such example. Among those languages that lack measure constructions, however, there are none that are classifier languages. Measure unit counters differ from quasi-unit counters and from non-unit counters in that the unit counter itself has no reality apart from the numeral and noun head

with which it occurs in construction. Ounces are not counted like apples. When we speak of five cups of flour, we refer to an amount of flour, not to five individual cups. A single cup may have been used to measure the whole amount of flour. In this respect, measure constructions are more similar to true classifier constructions than are either of the other two constructions considered above. Newari has a large variety of measure unit counters.³

23. pālu aṭṭā-chi	a quarter pau of ginger
24. ālu cha-dhāni	a dharani of potatoes
25. kāpaa ku-chi	one cubit of cloth
26. la kwae-chi	two miles of road
27. si cha-tu	a finger's width of wood
28. kāpaa cha-sāā	one bolt of cloth
29. by cha-pii	one ropani of land
30. by cula-chi	a quarter-ropani of land
31. duru kuu-chi	two manas of milk
32. syaabaji pha-chi	one pathi of deep-fried beaten rice

Such examples do not provide evidence in favor of the view that Newari is a classifier language. Non-classifier languages such as English also have measure constructions. What it indicates is that Newari has another of the analogical prerequisites for the development of a true classifier system.

II. TRUE CLASSIFIERS.

A language may be considered a classifier language or not depending upon whether it has true classifiers or not. Greenberg gives the following as characteristics of true classifiers.

- a. They are overt expressions of unit counting.
- b. They are used with reference to structured units which are normally counted as individuals.
- c. They impose a semantic classification upon the head noun.

- d. They function as individualizers of a head which is indeterminate for number.
- e. They have no reality outside of the numeral expression.

In order to determine whether Newari is a classifier language or not, we will take the five criteria listed above one by one and attempt to determine whether there are any classifiers in Newari which meet the stated criteria.

Overt expressions of unit counting. The function of a classifier is to make it possible to count certain nouns by ones. Consider the following nouns.

33. che _ḷ	house
34. manuu	person
35. kathi	stick
36. lākāā _ḷ	shoe
37. nhāe	nose
38. mari	pastry
39. thala	container
40. swāā _ḷ	flower
41. saphuu	book
42. laa _ḷ	upper garment

It is not possible in Newari to count nouns such as these directly with numbers. 'One' is cha, and 'two' is ni, but *cha che and *ni che are impossible. If one wishes to count nouns such as these by ones, one is obliged to use true classifiers. In English there is no such requirement. At this point English and Newari are typologically different.⁴

33a. che _ḷ cha-khā	one house
34a. manuu cha-mha	one person
35a. kathi cha-pu	one stick
36a. lākāā _ḷ cha-pā	one shoe
37a. nhāe cha-pu	one nose

38a. mari cha-pā	one pastry
39a. thala cha-gaa	one container
40a. swāā cha-phwaa	one flower
41a. saphuu cha-guu	one book
42a. laa cha-pāā	one upper garment

Used to count structured units. Each of the nouns listed above is a structured unit in the sense intended here. If one cuts a thala 'container' in half, one does not have two containers but rather one [a broken one].⁵ Thus, counting by ones in these examples involves identifiable structured entities with wholeness and closure.

Impose a semantic classification upon head nouns. We have chosen eight different classifiers as candidates for the status, 'true classifier.' There may be many more. Although there may be some overlap among the sets of head nouns which these classifiers select, there is fairly clear evidence that the choice of a classifier does involve semantic considerations.

43. bhegaa cha-gaa	one earthen pot
bhegaa cha-mha	one woman dwarf ⁶

The classifiers, -gaa, and -mha, do not in general occur with the same noun heads. The classifier, -gaa, occurs in general with round objects, containers, and with certain building terms. The classifier, -mha, occurs with animate beings. Even where they do occur with heads of identical phonological shape, they impose a semantic classification, which in these cases also serves as a semantic disambiguation.

44. mikhā cha-gaa	one eyeball	[round object]
mikhā cha-pā	one eye	[paired object]

The classifiers, -gaa, and -pā, do not generally occur with the same noun heads. The fact that both occur with mikhā 'eye' is a result of the fact that there are two ways of classifying an eye in Newari. It may be viewed as a round object in the rather gorey sense of 'eyeball' or it may be viewed in a more normal sense as a paired object. The classifier -pā also occurs with flat objects.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 45. kii cha-mha | one insect [animate being] |
| kii cha-pu | one bamboo nail [long thin object] |
| 46. wā cha-pu | one tooth [long thin object] |
| wā cha-gaa | one grain of paddy [particulate] |
| wā cha-phuti | one drop of rain [particulate] |
| 47. pāā cha-guu | one downward slope [geographic feature] |
| pāā cha-pāā | one turn [at giving a feast and performing a puḷā within a guthi] [reduplicative] |
| 48. culyā cha-guu | one elbow [miscellaneous] |
| culyā cha-pā | one bracelet [flat object] |
| 49. pā cha-pu | one axe [long thin object] |
| pā cha-pā | one feather [flat object / reduplicative] |
| 50. bu cha-kuu | one portion of a field [quasi-unit counter] |
| bu cha-phwaa | one blossom [flower-shaped] |
| 51. ghaa cha-gaa | one pitcher [container] |
| ghaa cha-cāā | one mill stone |
| 52. nakii cha-mha | one guthi president's wife [animate] |
| nakii cha-pu | one nail [long thin object] |
| 53. pusā cha-gaa | one seed grain [round object particulate] |
| pusā cha-guu | one lid [miscellaneous] |
| 54. salii cha-gaa | one small clay wine cup [container] |
| salii cha-pāā | one winnowing tray [flat object] |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 55. āju cha-thāe | one goal in hide and seek [location] |
| āju cha-mha | one grandmother [animate] |
| 56. kwae cha-kuu
^{ll} | one piece of bone [quasi-unit counter] |
| kwae cha-pu
^{ll} | one spiral key door opener [long thin object] |
| 57. hi cha-phuti | one drop of blood [particulate] |
| hi cha-pu | one sweet potatoe [long thin object] ⁷ |
| 58. lusi cha-pu | one shaft for beating rice [long thin object] |
| lusi cha-kuu | one piece of finger nail [quasi-unit counter] |

Function as individualizers of a head which is indeterminate for number. In Newari, neither the plural nor the numeral classifier construction is obligatory with nouns. When neither is present, there is no indication of number. Thus in a sentence such as 59 there is no indication of whether the speaker needed to buy one book or more than one.

59. ji saphuu nyāe māāgu du.

I [gen] book buy need is

I have to buy book [one or many].

This characteristic is one that is quite common among classifier languages. Greenberg makes the following statement [1972: 13].

A considerable number of classifier languages [e.g. many Iranian and Turkic languages, Korean] have what are generally described as plural affixes. However, closer examination seems to show that in almost every instance the 'unmarked' singular is in fact a form which, like the collective in languages with a compulsory plural is non-committal in regard to number.

In fact, the plural is rarely accepted in Newari as a well formed construction except with animate nouns. Plural, then, is almost entirely restricted to the range of head nouns that do not occur with -mha, another observation of Greenberg's is relevant [1972:13].

. . . classifiers in the large majority of classifier languages without plural inflections are performing the same individualizing function as both classifiers and singular affixes in languages with collectives. We should expect then that in the typical classifier language, the classifiable noun when not accompanied by a classifier should show the same lack of numeral determination that we have found with collectives in languages like Arabic.

Apparently, Newari patterns as a typical classifier language in this regard as well. Here again it contrasts typologically with English.

No reality outside of the numeral expression. True numeral classifiers typically make no reference to the non-linguistic world. They are simply part of the mechanism that a classifier language uses to count by ones. A number of the classifiers we have used as illustrations of true classifiers in Newari do not occur outside of the numeral classifier construction. The forms which occur only in bound construction with numerals include -khā [classifier for che 'house'], -pu [classifier for long thin objects], -gaa [classifier for round objects and containers, particulate for round granules], -phwaa [classifier for flowers and flower-shaped objects]. These classifiers have no meaning apart from the construction itself and thus cannot be said to have independent reference to the non-linguistic world. They clearly qualify as true classifiers.

The classifier for locative nouns, abstract nouns, and for certain miscellaneous nouns, -guu has homophones or near-homophones which occur in other syntactic functions, but the classifier -guu is readily distinguishable from these.

60. jike saphuu ni-guu du. cha-gulii yekwa tasbir du.

I have two books. In one of them there are many pictures.

Example 60 illustrates the fact that classifiers in Newari have a pronominal use and that they inflect for oblique case forms [-gulii is the locative of -guu and for this reason we represent this classifier as -gu[li] in Section III]. There is an attributive or nominalizing suffix -gu occurring with verbs which also has the locative form -gulii.

61. waa dhāā-gulii ji biswās ma-waa

I couldn't believe in what he said.

This form, -gulii, however, is not at all involved in quantification but is rather a locative nominalizer for the verb. In any event neither this -gulii nor that of the classifier system has any independent reference to the real world despite the homophony illustrated above.

There are other classifiers which do have homophones with independent reference to the non-linguistic world. The classifier for flat objects, -pā is homophonous with nouns meaning 'feather' and 'axe'. The classifier -pāā is homophonous with a noun meaning 'downward slope', and with a noun meaning 'turn at giving a feast and performing a puja for the guthi'. The meanings involved are such as to preclude the hypothesis that these classifiers have independent reference to the non-linguistic world. When one counts pastries one is not counting feathers despite the fact that the classifier -pā is used.

The classifier -mha is somewhat more problematical in this regard. Homophonous with -mha is a noun meaning 'body'. When one counts animate beings one is indeed counting bodies. The noun mha may be counted directly: cha-mha 'one body', ni-mha 'two bodies'. In arguing that Newari is a classifier language we do not use -mha as a crucial example. It is not a typologically convincing example at this point since it is difficult to prove that it has no non-linguistic reference within the classifier construction. Within Newari, however, it patterns as a classifier, which may account for the feeling of speakers that within the classifier construction -mha has no reality and is simply a way of counting. In the remainder of this paper we will view -mha as a true classifier, though our reasons for doing so are not as strong as they are for the other classifiers. The claim that Newari is a classifier language does not in any event depend solely upon whether or not -mha qualifies as a true classifier.

III. A TENTATIVE LISTING.

We conclude from the foregoing that Newari is indeed a classifier language on Greenberg's criteria, and that it has at least half a dozen or so true classifiers. The point of view taken thus far has been a typological one. We have been looking at Newari from outside and imposing external typological criteria upon Newari rather than looking from within in an effort to arrive at a natural analysis. A natural analysis of the Newari classifier system in terms of the language itself requires the investigation of a very wide range of particles, some of which may be classified as true classifiers and others of which most certainly would not be, but all of which function in very much

the same way within the same construction so far as Newari itself is concerned. This broader investigation, however, goes well beyond the limits of this paper. In this section we are simply concerned to answer the question, 'What would a sample listing of the classifiers of Newari look like?' We give only a representative sampling of true classifiers.

Nouns in Newari may be divided into two classes, those that can be counted by ones, and those which cannot. The words, saphuu 'book' and che 'house' are examples of nouns which are 'unit countable.' The nouns laa 'water' and cā 'clay' are examples of nouns which are 'unit non-countable.' Unit countable nouns are, syntactically speaking, those that are counted with true classifiers. The following is our tentative classification of true classifiers in Newari together with a rough indication of the semantic classifications imposed by these true classifiers upon the head nouns of the classifier construction. It should be noted, however, that the labels for idiomatic classifiers as not at all semantic. Since the idiomatic true classifiers are largely unique in their cooccurrence pairings with head nouns, no such semantic classification is relevant.

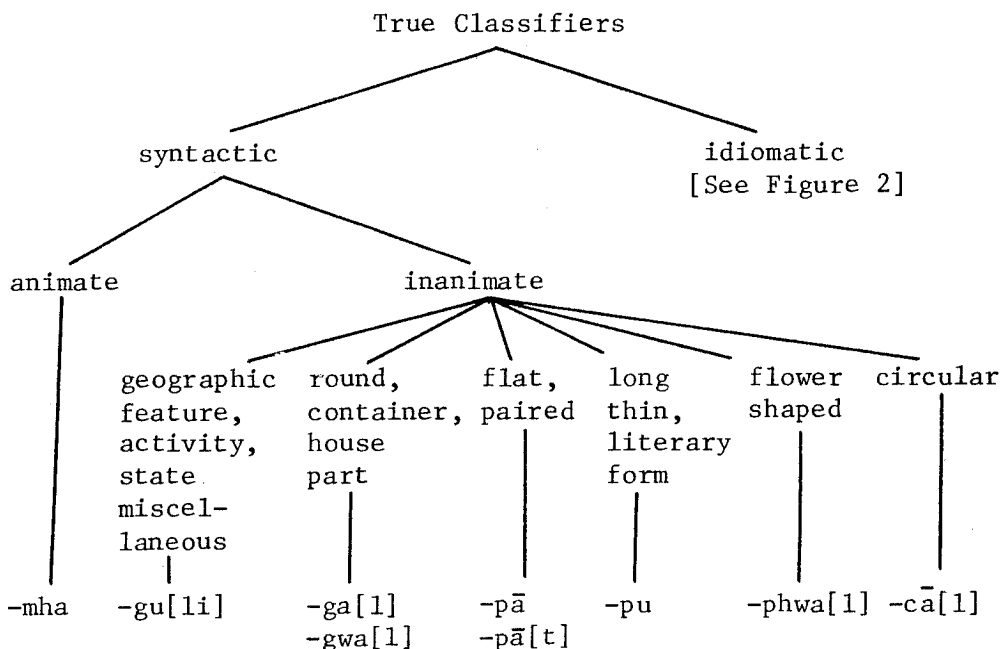


Figure 1. Tentative classification of true classifiers in Newari.

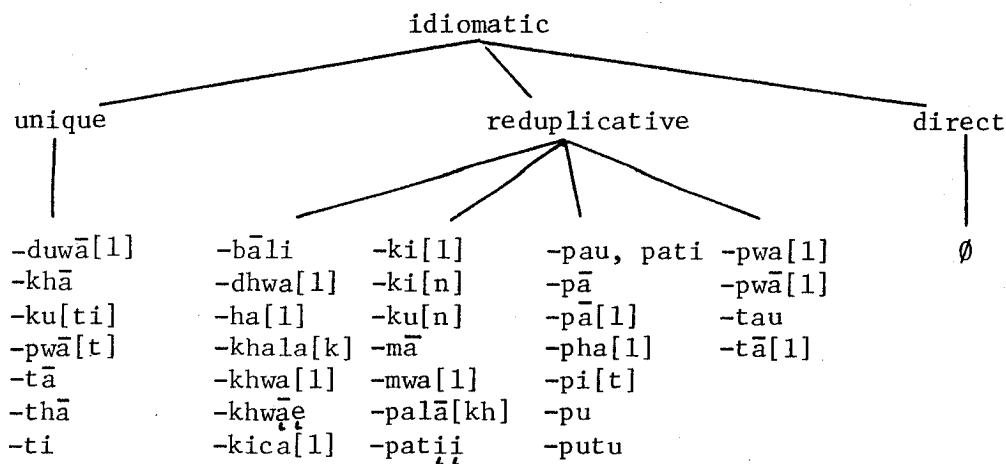


Figure 2. The idiomatic subclass of true classifiers in Newari.

The parenthesized elements in the representations of the classifiers given in Figures 1 and 2 relate to the oblique forms of these classifiers. Thus, while we have ghaa cha-gaa 'one pitcher' we also have ghaa cha-galae 'in one pitcher' and ghaa cha-galaa 'from one pitcher, with one pitcher'.

The semantic classifications given in Figure 1 cover a relatively wide range of classifier-noun head pairings. For several classifiers, however, there are residual pairings that do not fall strictly within the expected classification. At this point we limit our illustrations mainly to the regular pairings for each classifier.

Noun heads with -mha. The primary uses of -mha as a classifier are with animate beings and with personified objects.

manuu cha-mha	one person
macā cha-mha	one child
khicā cha-mha	one dog

The affix -mha is also used as an adjectival marker with animate heads.

waa-mha manuu	the person who came
---------------	---------------------

In this position, however, -mha is not a classifier. It is not involved in quantification. Its substitution set in this position does not include any other classifier, but only the inanimate adjectival marker, -gu.

wāā dhāā-gu khā the topic about which he spoke

The adjectival -mha is sometimes used with the force of a determiner.

kāē-mha the one who is [someone's] son

Noun heads with -gu[li]. The classifier -gu[li] has a relatively wide range of uses. It is used as a true classifier with nouns referring to locations and geographic features,

dee cha-guu one settlement

gāā cha-guu one village

gu cha-guu one forest, one hill

with nouns referring to abstract states,

khā cha-guu one matter, one topic

bhāē cha-guu one language

bicāā cha-guu one thought

with nouns referring to activities.

jyā cha-guu one task

akkal cha-guu one trick

andāj cha-guu one guess

In addition to these uses, we have a residue of miscellaneous items that take -gu[li] as their primary true classifiers but do not appear to fit any of the large semantic classes which are normally associated with -gu[li].

saphuu cha-guu one book

kacā cha-guu one branch

bāiskal cha-guu one bicycle

kāpi cha-guu one note book

sarir cha-guu one body

There are also a number of disputed usages which result from the fact that -gu[li] as the miscellaneous classifier is often substituted for other classifiers in various contexts. It is sometimes used in place of reduplicative classifiers,

pwāā cha-pwāā one hole

pwāā cha-guu one hole

It is used in place of the non-unit counter -tā in the sense, 'kinds of,'

mari cha-pā one pastry

mari cha-tā one kind of pastry

mari cha-guu one kind of pastry

It is used by some in place of -gaa in container constructions of measure,

cha-gaa agaa appā one kilnful of bricks

cha-guu agaa appā one kilnful of bricks

Certain speakers use -gu[li] as a kind of indefinite article. In this function it is used by some as a replacement for nearly any inanimate classifier.

che cha-khā one house

che cha-guu a certain house

Authorities differ widely as to the acceptability of these disputed usages.

Noun heads with -ga[1] and -gwa[1]. The more general of these two classifiers is -ga[1]. Although both of these classifiers occur with round objects,⁸

laddu cha-gaa one bread ball

laddu cha-gwaa one bread ball

ālu cha-gaa one potatoe

ālu cha-gwaa one potatoe

only -gaa occurs with containers,

thala cha-gaa	one pot
ghaa cha-gaa	one pitcher
with house parts	
thāā cha-gaa	one pillar
aagaa cha-gaa	one wall
nināā cha-gaa	one ridge pole

and as a particulate with grains and granules.

jāki cha-gaa	one grain of rice
--------------	-------------------

Noun heads with -pā and -pā[t]. Both of these classifiers occur with what might be considered as flat objects, but they do not occur interchangeably with the same noun heads. We have found no semantic way of predicting which noun head will occur with which of these classifiers.

laā cha-pāā	one upper garment
kwat cha-pāā	one coat
sukhuu cha-pāā	one mat
deemā cha-pāā	one dish
khwāā cha-pāā	one face
lāsā cha-pāā	one mat, bed
mhicā cha-pāā	one pocket

With -pā we have flat objects such as the following:

mari cha-pā	one pastry
swāri cha-pā	one flat thin pastry
biskut cha-pā	one cookie
kheē-waa cha-pā	one fried egg

and paired objects such as the following:

papuu cha-pā	one wing
lākāā cha-pā	one shoe

mwajā cha-pā	one sock
panjā cha-pā	one glove
nhaepaa cha-pā	one ear
khāpā cha-pā	one leaf of a double door
khaamu cha-pā	one of a pair of carrying baskets

Noun heads with -pu. This classifier occurs with long thin objects. The class of long thin objects in Newari includes not only those physical objects which appear long and thin such as

kalam cha-pu	one pen
la cha-pu	one road
gā cha-pu	one shawl

but also abstract literary forms that can be conceptualized as long and thin such as

bākhāa cha-pu	one story
kabitā cha-pu	one poem
me cha-pu	one song

It serves also as a particulate with unit non-countable noun heads such as

su cha-pu	a piece of straw
sa cha-pu	a strand of hair

Noun heads with -phwa[1]. The classifier -phwa[1] occurs with noun heads that refer to flower-shaped objects.

dhūugri cha-phwaa	one earring
tuki cha-phwaa	one earring
swāā cha-phwaa	one flower

Noun heads with -cā[1]. The classifier -cā[1] occurs with noun heads that refer to circular or wheel-shaped objects.

ghaa cha-cāā	one mill stone
--------------	----------------

ghari-yā khāā cha-cāā one watch crystal

Classifiers with only one noun head. Certain classifiers occur uniquely with a single noun head. The following are examples of such unique collocations.

che cha-khā	one house
lukhā cha-duwāā	one gate ⁹
ghāā cha-kuu	one wound
mata cha-pwāā	one lamp
mari cha-tā	one pastry
pujā cha-thā	one puja [on a particular night]
balā cha-ti	one arrow

Each of these classifiers occurs only with the noun head given or with compounds in which that head occurs. The head noun, of course, can occur with various other classifiers. In the case of -ku[ti] some question may be raised as to whether or not the occurrence cited is in fact unique. We do have such pairings as

lā cha-kuu	a piece of meat
lusi cha-kuu	a piece of fingernail

but -ku[ti] in each of these instances means 'piece of' and is thus a quasi-unit counter. Our feeling is that the -ku[ti] of ghāā cha-kuu differs from these instances in being a true classifier.

Reduplicative classifiers. There are a number of nouns that quantify by reduplication of the noun, or of a portion of the noun. The reduplicated portion then functions as a true classifier.

wā-bāli cha-bāli	one harvest of paddy
dhwaa cha-dhwaa	one line
haa cha-haa	one leaf
dāpā khalaa cha-khalaa	one drummer's association
sala-khwaa cha-khwaa	one horse's hoof

pāli-khwāē cha-khwāē	one footprint
kicaa cha-kicaa	one shadow
khwatā-kii cha-kii	one bamboo dam
na-kii cha-kii	one iron nail
kuy cha-kuy	one corner
swāā-mā cha-mā	one flower plant
parsi-mwaa cha-mwaa	one folded portion of a sari
palāā cha-palāā	one step
patii cha-patii	one finger
pau cha-pau	one sheet
pā cha-pā	one feather
guthi-pāā cha-pāā	one turn at feeding a guthi and performing a puja
jhyāā-phaa cha-phaa	one window sill
duru-pii cha-pii	one nipple
aa-pu cha-pu	one mango seed
putu cha-putu	one tie string [as on a man's upper garment]
simā-pwaa cha-pwaa	one crotch of a tree
bhau-pwāā cha-pwāā	one cat hole
pwaa cha-pwaa	one abcess
tau cha-tau	the base of one pot
tāā cha-tāā	one strike of a gong, one tally

Direct quantification, Ø. There are some nouns that quantify directly. Many of these share certain of the characteristics of classifiers and may be considered classifiers whose head nouns are regularly deleted.

ca-chi	one night
cha-kucā	one piece [cut off of something]
cha-ku	one load

The purpose of this paper was to answer the question, 'Is Newari a classifier language?' In Section I we reviewed various kinds of evidence that might be wrongly used to urge an affirmative answer to this question. In Section II we presented the kind of evidence that supports an affirmative answer to this question under Greenberg's criteria. In Section III we tried to give a representative sample of the true classifiers of Newari. As this point we feel that the evidence should speak for itself.

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FOOTNOTES.

¹The authors wish to express their appreciation to Thakur-lal Manandhar who went through the whole manuscript and made numerous suggestions and contributed a number of examples and to Jagan Nath Maskey who assisted in the initial phrases of the research.

Emeneau [1956:14] states that within the Indian linguistic area, the classifier construction is originally Indo-Aryan and was borrowed by the Munda and Dravidian languages. Whether Newari can be included in the Indian linguistic area in this sense is open to some doubt. Though to our knowledge it has never been suggested that Newari is related to Thai, it may be of interest in passing to note a few similarities between the Newari classifier system and that described by Hass [1942] for Thai. Both languages have a pronominal use of the classifier construction. The

There are three houses there.

On one of them there is a
tile roof

one month

one day

one year

2A bunch, -thu in Newari, is long and thin, tied together, and thin enough to hold in one hand.

eight pau of clarified butter

a pau of potatoes

two pau of potatoes

two manas of milk

one house

Noun Numeral-Classifier

cha-khā
Numeral-Classifier

che one house
Noun

The first of these orders is limited mainly to measure constructions, the second is a normal order where the numeral is not under focus, the third order focuses attention upon the numeral and is used regularly in counting.

⁵There is an expression, bā thala hi! 'Bring a container half [full of something]!' which uses thala as a unit of measure. At this point we are ignoring such measure constructions with containers except to mention simply that there is a very large class of such containers in Newari and that they function in a manner highly analogous to that of classifiers. In such an expression one is not counting containers, but rather the contents of containers.

⁶Authorities differ as to the meaning of bhegaa as an animate noun. Thakurlal Manandhar glosses it as 'a woman with copious hips'.

⁷Authorities differ as to the appropriate classifier for hi 'sweet potatoe'. Thakurlal Manandhar prefers the classifier -gaa.

⁸Certain authorities reject the use of -gwaa with laddu and ālu and recommend it rather as a kind of particulate as in jā cha-gwaa 'a grain of cooked rice'.

⁹Authorities differ as to the correct form of this classifier. Thakurlal Manandhar prefers -dawā[1].

Image Casting in Oku Bahal

Ian Alsop and Jill Charlton

Stella Kramrisch, a noted authority on Nepalese art, ends her excellent book Art of Nepal with these words:

"To this day Nepal has a living myth. It is enacted throughout the year in the succession of seasonal rites and festivals. No living art supports them any longer."¹

This is a common assumption, yet it is one which the authors of this report feel to be incorrect. Indeed, it might well be said that Nepal, alone among her neighbors, does indeed have a living art which is the continuation of an ancient tradition.

Of all the ancient art forms still practiced in the valley of Kathmandu, the one which is most vibrantly alive is that of image casting in metal. The city of Patan is the modern as well as traditional center of the practice of casting, and within the city itself it is the Newar community of Oku Bahal to which Nepal's most respected and skilled sculptors and casters belong. This report will focus its attention on these men and their traditions on the past which formed their vision and technique, on the changed present in which they work, and on the future of their art which so many assume to be dead.

I. A Brief History of Image Casting in Nepal, India and Tibet; the Survival of Nepalese Casting.

1. History.

The Nepalese tradition of casting images in metal began many centuries in the past. Nepalese art in all its forms, both Buddhist and Hindu, was basically a child of the artistic genius of the great Indian artists of ancient times. According to Rustam J. Mehta, the art of image casting reached Nepal from India during the regime of the Imperial Guptas in India (A.D. 320 - 600)². Although it is difficult to place a Nepalese metal sculpture so early in time, there is no doubt that the artistic vision of the Guptas did indeed have a strong influence on the casters. The influence of the artists of the Gupta period upon Nepalese stone sculpture of that period is obvious, and it was undoubtedly transmitted to the casters through that medium.

Two later Indian artistic periods also show their influence on Nepalese metal sculpture, the Pala and Sena (8th to 12th

centuries). It was under the stimulus of the Indian artists of this period that Nepalese image casting grew to a major art form and flourished in the Valley of Kathmandu.

As the art of India was dying under the sword of Muslim invaders, the seed that the genius of Indian artists had planted in the soil of Nepal matured and flowered. Nepalese art began to take its own direction, and the influences of the Indians began to become mixed in with an unmistakably Nepalese style. Nepal became more than a transit point for ideas and styles moving from India to Tibet and China, and took on an importance in its own right as a cradle of great art. Newari craftsmen gained a reputation among the Tibetans and Chinese as artists of the highest quality, and colonies of Nepalese artists were imported into these countries to paint and sculpt, and also to teach the Tibetans and Chinese the techniques of their art. And just as the Nepalese had adopted Indian styles and then transformed them to suit the native vision, so did the Tibetans and Chinese take the styles given to them by Newari artists and transform them to distinctly Tibetan and Chinese styles. Just as Nepal influenced the art of these two countries, so over the centuries did the Tibetan and Chinese styles return to influence further the art of Nepal. This flux and change in the style of Nepalese sculpture is summed up by Ananda Coomaraswamy thus:

"In the older Nepalese figures the Indian character is altogether predominant, and there is no suggestion whatever of anything Mongolian: they recall the work of the Gupta period. They are characterized by a very full modelling of the flesh and almost florid features: the bridge of the nose is markedly rounded and the lips full. On the other hand, those of a later date, and up to modern times, are no longer robust and fleshy, but svelte and slender-waisted and more sharply contoured; the nose became aquiline, sometimes even hooked, the lips clear-cut and thin, and the expression almost arch . . . To sum up these distinctions, the art of the earlier figures is plastic and sculptural, while that of the latter has more the character of chasing and suggests the hand of the goldsmith rather than a modeller."³

As this summation suggests, the history of Nepalese art is one of flux and change, of the adoption and transmutation of neighboring styles. Nepalese craftsmen were first the pupils of Indian artists of the distant past, then served as the teachers of the Tibetans and Chinese, and then, more recently, again became the pupils of these northern neighbours. In the scheme of Asian art history, Nepal was at the center collecting and distributing the techniques and styles of the cultures which surrounded her. But while these older and, some would say, greater, cultures disappeared and were destroyed, the culture and art of Nepal survived.

2. The decline of surrounding traditions; the survival of casting in Nepal.

The tradition of Indian image casting was dealt a mortal blow by the waves of Muslim invaders who swept the subcontinent periodically and signalled the end of the Gupta, Pala and Sena traditions in the north of India; these of course were the artistic traditions which most affected the artisans of Nepal. With the death of these styles in the north of India and the decay of the great Chola dynasty tradition in the South, the Indian art of image casting went into a long decline from which it has never recovered. With the modern period of Indian history beginning with the takeover by the British, India turned away from her heritage of philosophy and art and concentrated her energies on the forging of a modern state. The result has been the loss of a great art. As Rustam J. Mehta writes in his Masterpieces of Indian Bronzes and Metal Sculpture: "Made in large numbers, the images of the 18th century to this day are poor specimens of a decadent style, a hollow mockery of the great tradition of the past, the one-time skill and aesthetic vigour of the image makers of old . . . The once great art of metal sculpture and casting in India is dead!"⁴

Cast-metal images are still being manufactured in India, but they are largely copies of pieces now being made in Nepal; these pieces can be hardly considered works of art, for they are not sculptured, but copied through the use of molds. So great has been the decline of Indian artistry that most of these pieces are no longer made through the process of lost wax but produced in halves and then welded together.

While the art of image casting in India was dying, the tradition which Indian artists had begun was still being continued in Nepal, China and Tibet. But just as medieval history saw the undoing of the great Indian tradition, so did modern history put an end to the indigenous tradition of religious art in China and Tibet. Religion and religious art have no place within communism, and the rise of that social system within China sounded the death knell for her religious art forms. And as communism expanded from its base within China and eventually swallowed Tibet in a process which ended in 1959, another traditional art form was faced with destruction. For although many of the refugees who entered India after the Chinese takeover of Tibet were artists of the first rank, it seems that image casters were not among them.

That leaves Nepal. Nepal alone among her neighbours has managed to preserve the art of image casting throughout the ages; the reasons for this remarkable survival are several.

One reason is geographical; Nepal's isolation from the plains

of India spared her the sword of the Muslim invaders who devastated India in medieval times. As Mehta writes; "Fortunately for the culture of India, the iconoclastic invaders did not penetrate every nook and corner of this vast subcontinent and in isolated regions like Nepal and Tibet, the ancient art of metal sculpture and casting continued to exist."⁵ Had the civilization of the valley of Kathmandu been situated in the Tarai, the art of Nepal would no doubt have died with that of India.

Just as Nepal's physical isolation from India protected her from invasion many centuries ago, so her historical and cultural ties with India, and the great barrier separating the valley of Kathmandu from Tibet in the north protected her from any change of another invasion in more recent history. China's takeover of Tibet was based on the claim, ages-old, that Tibet was essentially under the political suzerainty of China. No such claim could be made on Nepal whose status as an independent nation was more firmly established than that of Tibet, and whose cultural and historical ties with India were more ancient and binding than those she has had with China, whereas, of course, the reverse was the case with Tibet.

Although the casting of metal images has an unbroken tradition in Nepal, this tradition has gone through fluctuations over the centuries. In a religious art, style, quality and quantity of production depend not only upon the artist but also upon the patron. In Asia, the greatest periods of artistic fertility within a single area occurred when that area was controlled by a ruler who both kept peace in and provided security for, his Kingdom, and also showed a fondness for the arts and a dedication to religion.

Thus, in Nepalese art history, as in Indian and Chinese, periods are named after the ruler or rulers who oversaw and patronized the rise of a particular style. Until the rise of the Gorkhas, there were five such periods between the Licchavis and the Mallas (9th to 12th centuries), and the early Malla (13th to 15th centuries), and the late Malla period (15th to 18th centuries.) When the three valley Kingdoms of the Newari Malla Kings were captured and consolidated under the Gorkha King, Prithivi Narayana Shah, in 1768, a difficult period started for the Newari artists of the Kathmandu valley. For, as Gopal Singh Nepali writes in his book The Newars, "With the overthrow of the royal Mallas, the patrons of fine arts, the Newar artisans ceased to receive encouragement from the Gorkhas who idealised a different branch of human excellence - the art of chivalry."⁶

Thus the Gorkha period has been a difficult one for the artists of the Kathmandu valley. State patronage, always a prerequisite for great art in Asia, had all but disappeared, and the

image casters as well as all the other artisans, had to fall back upon private patronage. The sudden drop in Royal patronage caused the atrophy of several of the art forms for which the Newars were most famous, notable temple construction and stone carving, and to a lesser degree, wood-carving. The nature of image casting in metals, however, allowed this art form, along with painting to survive, for these has always been a demand among religious Newars for images and paintings for household use.

Thus, throughout the reign of the Gorkhas until modern times, the tradition of image casting survived, in a somewhat atrophied form, through private patronage. That the art could maintain itself at all, much less at a high level of quality during this period is largely due to the cultural solidarity and religious spirit of the Newari people.

Recently the ancient tradition of image casting has received a major boost. This is due largely to two recent developments: the flight of many religious Tibetans from their homeland, and the rise of tourism in the valley of Kathmandu.

When the Tibetan refugees left Tibet and settled in India and Nepal, they brought with them their characteristic religious devotion but not their temples nor the images of the gods which they so revere. Immediately upon settling in India, they began to rebuild the material framework within which their religion thrives, and, when it came to images, they turned to the Newari artisans of Patan for the work they desired. Almost all of the images in modern Tibetan monasteries and temples in Nepal, India, and as far away as Switzerland have been sculpted and cast by the image casters of Patan. The large image of Padmasambhava in the Kargyutpa gumpa at Swayambhunath is an example of such patronage.

Over the past ten years as the valley of Kathmandu has turned from its traditional isolation, another source of patronage has opened up, tourism. As more and more western visitors flock to the lovely valley of Kathmandu, a thriving business in curio objects has grown. This business, as might be expected, has had a deleterious effect on the general level of quality of most items produced, and images are no exception. Most of the pieces seen in the curio shops are poorly cast and hurriedly finished. Yet there is still a demand for images of high quality, and while even some of the best artists turn out poor pieces for the average tourist, this gives them the money and time to work on finely made statues. It is the opinion of the authors of this report that many of these pieces rival even the finest cast images of Nepal's illustrious past.

II. Oku Bahal and the Image Casters

1. Oku Bahal

When art historians speak of Nepalese image casting, they are in essence speaking of the work of a group of artisans who have worked for centuries in Patan, the 'city of fine arts', in the Kathmandu Valley. Within Patan itself, these artists are further localised; the two centers of image casting in Patan are two Buddhist communities of the Bare or Vanras caste of Newari Buddhists at Oku Bahal and Nag Bahal. These two communities have traditionally been the centres of metal casting, and they still are. Oku Bahal is the more productive of the two in terms of fine quality pieces, although several excellent copies of antique statues have been produced recently in Nag Bahal. This report will focus on the traditions and present day work of the artists of Oku Bahal.

The estimated total population of Oku Bahal is 1800 to 2000 persons. Of these, approximately 700 are 'jains', or men who have received the Chura Karma initiation in the Vihar. The Bahal community system is said by most scholars to be a left-over from the times when the Sakya people, who are said to be the original descendants of the original followers of Lord Buddha Sakyamuni, were an entirely monastic community. Thus many of the social customs, such as the Chura Karma initiation which is a perfunctory admission of a young boy into the community of monks, are reflections of the practices of ancient times. The Bahal itself is a group of dwellings surrounding a central temple, and as a communal living plan it is unique to the Vanras, or Sakyas, as they call themselves and the Bajracharya, the priestly caste of Newari Buddhists.

The population of Oku Bahal, with the exception of three or four Shrestha Hindu families and a few Jyapoo who have come to work in the casting shops, is entirely made up of Sakyas.

It is estimated that approximately 60% of the families of Oku Bahal are involved in casting (as opposed to perhaps 15 to 25% in Nag Bahal);⁷ this work is largely image casting, although bronze lotas and other vessels and implements are also cast.

The rest of the population is engaged in silverworking, goldsmithery (the traditional Sakya caste occupation), with a large number engaged in business, primarily curio business. The curio business in the valley has always been a Newari domain; one estimate places 75% of the curio business in the Kathmandu valley in the hands of the Sakya Newars, and, to a lesser extent, in the hands of the Vajracharya. This estimate may be somewhat too high, but even to a casual observer it is obvious that a large percentage of the curio businesses in Nepal are run by Sakya Newars.

Besides the primary occupations listed above, there are three doctors, all at present away from the Bahal, and a few tailors; there are no government employees.

The centre of the spiritual life of the Bahal is Rudhra Barna Mahavihar, whose main temple is dedicated to Lord Buddha, or Kwa Pa Aju, as he is known in Newari. It is in this Vihar that the young boys of the community receive their Chura Karma initiation, alluded to earlier. This initiation as well as other religious events, is overseen by Bajracharya priests, who select the auspicious date for a ceremony and then come from their own Bahal to perform it. There are two Bajracharya Bahals in Patan, Binchy Bahal and Bu Bahal; the Bajracharya who serve as priests for the Sakyas of Oku Bahal are from Binchy Bahal.

The well-knit community spirit which pervades the Sakya Bahals of Patan is a major factor in the survival of the art of casting to the present day. With the change in patronage from Royalty to private persons and businesses, the economic organization of the community has had to change in order to meet the new markets for fine sculptures. An example of this change can be seen in the recent history of one family of Oku Bahal, that of Jog Raj Sakya.

Jog Raj Sakya's father was a goldsmith, the traditional Sakya caste occupation. Jog Raj, in turn, took up the work of casting utensils and wine pots, primarily in bronze. Until the Nepali year 2007, the family was engaged in manufacturing these cast goods. After that year, they moved into the business world, first becoming dealers in the items they used to produce, cast pots and utensils, and then, in 2018, moving into the curio business, a move prompted by the influx of tourists. Eventually the curio business took over their interests entirely; at this time almost all of their goods for sale are the statues cast by their fellow Sakyas in Oku Bahal, although they also sell handicrafts manufactured in Nag Bahal. At the present time the curio business, centred in several shops around Mahaboudha temple in Oku Bahal, is run by Jog Raj's two eldest sons, Jagat and Puspa Raj Sakya.

The flexibility and business acumen of the Sakya people has been in large part responsible for the modern renaissance of image casting in Nepal. For as the demand for fine new art pieces began to appear, the Sakya showed themselves willing to accommodate their businesses to this new market, as the above brief history of one family shows. Thus the entire system of production and marketing of the pieces produced by the sculptors of Oku Bahal remained in the hands of the residents themselves, and the casters, with the able business instincts of their relatives in the shops exploiting the market for their pieces, were able to concentrate on their own

creative process.

2. The Casters: Manjoti Sakya and Bodhi Raj Sakya.

With the advent of the tourist expansion in the valley and the rise of the curio industry, the number of casters and sculptors in Oku Bahal has increased enormously. By and large these artisans are a modern phenomenon, drawn to the trade by the lucrative returns to be gained from manufacturing images: they are first generation casters, whose fathers were either silver or goldsmiths, or makers of cast pots and utensils. Despite the fact that many of them are not well-trained, several of these first generation artists show a great deal of talent and ability. But by and large they do not equal in skill the casters for whom the art of image making is a family tradition.

Of the traditional casters of Oku Bahal, the authors of this report have chosen to focus on two, Manjoti Sakya and Bodhi Raj Sakya. Although these two men share a sense of beauty and high skill in sculpture, there are differences between their work and the approach to it, especially in terms of the patronage through which they earn their living; for whereas Manjoti relies on the private and religious patronage which sustained the casting tradition after the fall of the Mallas, Bodhi Raj has turned to the new business patronage for his income.

Manjoti Sakya, who lives in the compound surrounding Mahaboudha temple, is one of the most skilled and respected image casters in Oku Bahal, or, for that matter, in the whole of Nepal. Casting images has been the occupation of his family for longer than that of any other in Oku Bahal; to his knowledge, the tradition goes back as far as his great grandfather. He himself was taught by his father, Pancha Joti Sakya, who died approximately ten years ago at the age of 80. Manjoti himself is about 55 years old.

Manjoti works in a team with his brother, Tej Joti, who is 52. Manjoti is responsible for all the actual sculpting work in wax, and also for covering the wax image in clay, while Tej Joti handles all of the oven work and performs the actual casting itself.

Technically speaking, Manjoti and Tej Joti use the same casting procedures used by their father, and, no doubt, their grandfather and great grandfather. An exception to this is that they no longer cast in copper, due to the fact, they say, that it requires too much concentration. The last copper piece undertaken by the brothers was an 18 inch Buddha figure, cast on

private commission about sixteen years ago. Now they cast only in brass and bronze, preferring brass because it is somewhat less difficult to cast than bronze and easier to engrave. Tej Joti does not mix his own metals like his father, he buys both the brass and the bronze in the form of sheets, wire and old plates from the market in Kathmandu.

Although the techniques of casting have not changed in the family from the time that Manjoti's father was working, there have been several changes in methods of sculpting, largely brought on by the advent of photography, and also by a slight shift that has occurred in the type of patronage under which father and son have worked. Manjoti's father sculpted images almost exclusively for temples, commissioned by either a very rich single patron, or by a group of people who worshipped at that temple. As a result, his images were usually rather large, and also unique, so that he never took a *das*, or wax mold, for an image. Manjoti, on the other hand, occasionally does take a *das* of a wax figure, for his pieces are smaller in size and often more than one is ordered. Although Manjoti does still cast many images for temples, a large part of his work now consists of smaller pieces undertaken on private commission. When Manjoti does sculpt an image he generally charges less for a temple than for a person's house; this practice was also adhered to by Manjoti's father. As a result of the rise in private commissions, Manjoti has estimated that his income is slightly higher than that of his father. At any rate, he has stated that his father was always extremely busy and never without an order, as is certainly the case with Manjoti himself.

Most of Manjoti's father's commissions came from fellow Newars, and certainly a majority of the pieces that Manjoti sculpts are also for Newars; but he has also been a beneficiary of the Tibetans' flight from their homeland. It is undoubtable true that the majority of the new images now ordered by Tibetans for their rebuilt temples are sculpted by Manjoti Sakya, for he is well known among them and highly regarded as a sculptor. He says that they are by and large easy and pleasant to work with, though they are strict as regards the rectitude of iconographical detail (No doubt such strictness is a beneficial influence in preventing the degeneration of the art forms.)

According to Manjoti, his father, when asked to sculpt an image would go to a temple containing an image of the god that was requested and study that image, often taking sketches and notes. During the period of actual sculpting in wax, the image used as a model might be revisited and referred to several times. He also used books giving rules concerning the form and iconography of different deities; these books were in the possession of Sakya pandits, and Manjoti's father would go to the house of the pandit to consult the books and ask advice of the pandit himself.

Many of these books were entirely literary, without designs of any kind; in addition there were books of sketches which could be consulted. Manjoti himself had such a book of drawings made for him about 15 years ago by a Tibetan artist, but he says that he looked through the book several times, memorized the details and no longer consults it.

The rise of photography has considerably eased the flow of information to the casters, for now it is no longer necessary to visit a sculpture in order to find a model, for almost all of the deities and styles are represented photographically in art books available in the valley. Indeed many of the pieces now being made are copies of antique, and in many cases very famous designs that can be seen in the museums of the valley and in any book dealing with Nepalese art. Manjoti himself often works from a photograph; in many cases the person who commissions a statue will bring in a photograph of a painting or image of the deity concerned. He has also worked from original statues of a small size, usually enlarging them in the process. Once, when he was working on images of the four Dhyani Buddhas for Sighe stupa in Kathmandu, Ananda Muni, a famous Nepalese painter, came to stay at his house and offered advice on proportions and iconographical details. Again, Manjoti often works without a model of any kind, creating the form of the god from his knowledge of proportion and detail and from his own imagination.

He has been the beneficiary of a mild form of Royal patronage, for recently the palace has ordered several minor images to be cast, among them 80 lion's heads for the Royal Office in Singh Durbar. He is also, as was his father before him, the maker of all cast pots and utensils used by the Royal Palace. These orders are indirect, since the Palace contacts Cottage Industries, who in turn contact Manjoti; such orders are of course not to be compared with those which used to be issued from the Palaces of the Malla kings, but they are a significant Royal contribution to the artistic traditions of the valley.

Images produced by Manjoti and his family can be seen in various locations within the valley. His grandfather sculpted the garudas, lions, and horse-like mythical creatures which stand as guardians in the courtyard of Rudhra Barna Mahavihar in Oku Bahal itself. His father produced the images of Suddhodana and Maya Devi, the father and mother of Lord Buddha, which stand on either side of the main door of the Vihar temple, and also the large figure on a pedestal, allegedly that of Arjamber Purus, the body-guard of Lord Buddha in a previous lifetime,⁸ Which stands in the Vihar courtyard.

Manjoti himself sculpted the large image of Padmasambhava in the Kargyutpa gompa at Swayambhunath; it was cast in brass

approximately 20 years ago on Tibetan order, with a small image and a painting used as models. His cousin, Kuber Singh Sakya, manufactured the main image in the same gomba; this figure is not cast, but rather manufactured from beaten copper pieces. Manjoti also cast the brass figure of Maitreya Buddha in Dharmachakra monastery on Saraswati hill near Swayambhunath, also on Tibetan order. One of Manjoti's largest pieces is the 6 foot, 6 inch high image of Lord Buddha, cast for a new temple in Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha. He also cast the copper images of the four Dhyani Buddhas (excluding Vairocana, the fifth), in Singhali stupa in Kathmandu. These figures, all approximately 18 inches high, were cast under the patronage of a rich Newari merchant about twenty years ago. He has also sculpted a large clay image in Badhang gomba in Helambu, and also cast images for the late King of Bhutan and for temples as far away as Switzerland.

It is hoped that manjoti and Tej Joti are not the last of their family to take up the respected profession of image casting; Manjoti's oldest son, Ratna Joti, 17, is now in school, and he is also learning how to engrave a finished piece, a skill that is said to be valuable training for a sculptor. It is hoped that he will take up his father's work when he has finished his schooling, and yet another generation will be added to this respected line of family sculptors.

Bodhi Raj Sakya is one of the few sculptors in Patan whose work can be said to exhibit as much skill and grace as that of Manjoti Sakya. A hard-working and prolific sculptor, he is probably the most popular commercial sculptor and caster in Nepal.

Although Bodhi Raj inherited a family trade in sculpture, it is a tradition that preceeded him by only one generation. According to Bodhi Raj, his grandfather was a caster of pots and lotas, while his father, Punya Raj, was the first in the family line to make images. His father cast the extremely fine figures of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and the two Arhants which adorn the door and door-surroundings of Rudhra Barna Mahavihar in Oku Bahal. Cast in solid brass, these statues were most likely created at about the turn of the century, as Bodhi Raj has said his father was quite young when they were done.

Bodhi Raj's father died at the age of 49 when Bodhi Raj was only two years old; (Bodhi Raj is now 51). Thus the casting tradition was not directly passed down the family line. Bodhi Raj learned casting from his brother, Siddhi Raj Sakya, who in turn learned from Manjoti. He also says that he is to a large degree, self-taught; it is said in Oku Bahal that when Bodhi Raj and his brother were both young fatherless children, they used to play in the street with left-over bits of wax and fashion small figures of gods.

Up until six years ago, Bodhi Raj and Siddhi Raj worked together. Then there was a quarrel, supposedly started because of Bodhi Raj's fondness for gambling, which resulted in Bodhi Raj leaving his father's house and moving his family to another. It was at this time that he and the family of Puspa Raj Sakya became especially close, for Puspa's family helped Bodhi Raj set up casting on his own, and ordered many statues from him for their shop. For several years after their split there was some acrimony between Bodhi Raj and Siddhi Raj, but recently there has been a warming of the relationship, and now Bodhi Raj often visits his brother's house when there is casting to be done and help is needed. Siddhi Raj is also an extremely skilled caster whose preference is small copper pieces done in a Tibetan style.

Bodhi Raj is now a very successful artist. His pieces are very popular and he seems to be financially well off; at the moment he is rebuilding his house, which adjoins the Vihar.

Although both Bodhi Raj and Manjoti are artists of the first rank, their work differs in several respects. Whereas Manjoti does not cast in copper, Bodhi Raj does cast in copper, but will not cast in bronze, maintaining that it is too difficult to engrave. Bodhi Raj also does all the work on an image himself, from fashioning the wax to the actual pouring of the metal although he does have assistance from his family members in all phases of the process.

While Manjoti does all of his work on private commission, in the traditional method of a patronage, Bodhi Raj does almost all of his work for curio shop businessmen. He has cast one piece for a temple, although it is a somewhat strange design for a Nepalese artist; it is a naturalistic figure of an Indian guru in a temple near Balaju gardens.

Since Bodhi Raj makes most of his statues again and again, he always makes a das, a clay or resinated wax mold, of his original of any design; from these das he can fashion additional wax images. Since Manjoti usually makes only one wax at a time, he only rarely fashions a das. Other than these differences, the actual methods of sculpting of the two artists are nearly the same; both occasionally use photographs or original models, and both occasionally work from their own knowledge and imagination.

At the moment, Bodhi Raj has about 20 to 25 molds for statues of medium (6 inches) to large size, and also several of smaller size; these are his inventory, and they are constantly being re-ordered by businessmen. Often these statues are copied, which creates ill feeling although Bodhi Raj says he doesn't much care

since the copies are invariable of far inferior quality (which is generally true). It is customary for a successful caster to give unused molds to less successful casters, which of course creates a much better communal atmosphere than the practice of stealing designs.

Of this inventory in copper statues, the Cakra Samvara, which the authors feel to be one of the finest tantric images ever fashioned by a Nepalese sculptor, is the most popular. Originally sculpted six years ago from a much smaller piece that a customer wished to have copied, he has cast some 30 to 35 pieces in copper since that time.

The next most popular images in his inventory are those of his Bodhisattva series, all 16 inches, sculpted both from original models and from his knowledge. The Vajra Sattva whose manufacture we will detail later in this report is one of this series, which also includes Manjushri, Amitāyus, crowned Akshobhya and green Tara. These pieces can be seen in brass in almost every curio shop on New Road in Kathmandu, although he rarely casts them in copper.

Perhaps Bodhi Raj's most impressive work to date is his Indra, a sculpture of marvellous fluidity, expression and grace. About 10 inches high, he usually casts this image in solid copper; it is a copy of an older piece of the same design from which Bodhi Raj worked directly. More will be said of all these pieces towards the end of this report.

At the time of this writing, Bodhi Raj is working on two tantric pieces which are astounding in size and complexity. One is a 36 inch image of Meg Samvara, or Yamantake, the wrathful form taken by the Bodhisattva Manjushri to slay the demon Yama. It is being sculpted from a photograph of an original piece approximately of the same size. The other is a 24 inch image of Hevajra, the tantric form of the Dhyani Buddha Akshobhya sculpted without a model. Both are now in wax form; the Yamantaka is to be cast in brass, the Hevajra in copper. Both have been ordered by a Newari curio shop owner, though to call these figures curios would be most inappropriate.

There is good reason to hope that the family tradition of casting will not end with Bodhi Raj. His oldest boy, now 17, is learning the art, and can always be seen in the workshop whenever there is casting to be done.

III. Casting and Finishing.

Over the past fifteen months, the authors of this report have

seen many images being sculpted and cast; we have chosen two images in particular, however, to follow in detail from the beginning of the sculpting process to the final finishing and engraving. The first of these is a sixteen inch image of the Dhyani Boddhisattva Vajra Sattva, worshipped by some sects of Mahayana Buddhism as Adi-Buddha (primordial Being), and by others as a reflex form of the Dhynai Buddha Vairocana. Sculpted by Bodhi Raj Sakya, this figure is one of his series of Bodhisattva images, which are usually cast in brass; this particular image, however, was cast in copper. The second image whose manufacture we chose to follow is a 24 inch figure of Vajra Pani, a wrathful aspect of the Dhyani Boddhisattva of the same name, sculpted by Manjoti Sakya and cast in bronze by his brother Tej Joti Sakya. In the following paragraphs we will concentrate on a detailed description of the sculpting, casting and finishing of the Vajra Sattva of Bodhi Raj; additional notes at the end of this section will detail any differences in the processes involved in the manufacture of the two images.

1. An Image is Cast.

All of the images made in Patan are manufactured by the 'cire perdu', or lost wax, system. Briefly explained, this process involves the sculpting of an image in wax identical to the final metal image. This wax image is then covered with clay, and if hollow, the interior is also covered with clay. When the clay has dried, then the wax is melted and poured out of the clay mold through a hole (hence the name 'lost wax'), and the metal is poured into the space once occupied by the wax. When the metal has cooled, the mold is broken and the image emerges. The lost wax process produces a sculpture in which fine details are possible, and in which there are no seams (such as appear when casting molds are used). Of course, this process demands that every piece be made separately out of wax, covered with clay and then cast, so that even images of identical design must be made from separate waxes and molds. Thus true 'mass-production' is not possible, although, as will be seen in the following paragraphs, the process of sculpting the wax figure can be considerably quickened through the use of a 'das', or wax mold.

Since the image of Vajra Sattva had already been cast previously by Bodhi Raj, it was not necessary for him to sculpt the image from raw and unshaped pieces of wax. Once a statue has been cast, it is possible for the sculptor to make molds of clay or hard resinated wax ('das') from the completed sculpture or from the original wax model. From these molds, more wax statues are fashioned; such was the case with the Vajra Sattva.

In using the das, sheets of warm and pliable wax are placed in the molds and pressed, so that the wax takes the shape of the

interior of the mold, and thus the shape of one piece (hands, face, clothing, etc.) of the original sculpture. These pieces are then fitted together and joined by heat to make the wax figure, which is basically an exact replica of the finished statue. The wax, like its metal counterpart, is hollow and of varying thickness, the thickness depending on the type of metal to be cast. Generally speaking, the wax for a brass statue does not need to be as thick as that for a copper statue, since brass is more durable and less malleable than copper, and thus less likely to break or bend whenever stress is applied. The Vajra Sattva image whose manufacture we followed was originally intended to be made in brass, and later the decision was made to have it cast in copper.

Since the wax, which was made for a brass casting, was thinner than it should have been for a durable copper casting, some problems appeared after the casting of the image had been completed. More mention of these problems will be made in the following paragraphs.

The tools needed for the making of the wax figure are few and rudimentary. A few steel tools similar to the chisels used by Newari woodcutters are used to scrape and smooth the wax model; similar tools made of bone are also used. A smooth stone slab is used for rolling and flattening the wax into pieces suitable for pressing into the molds. A bed of coals is kept in a bowl for heating the wax to the desired pliability. The wax itself is of a dark color, hard when dry and extremely viscous except when heated to a high temperature.

If the statue has been cast previously, then the pressing of the mold-pieces is not a particularly time-consuming affair, nor does it require any skill on the part of the sculptor. For this reason, many of the wax models made by the casters' workshops are not actually fashioned by the master sculptor himself, but are made by the men, usually relatives, who work in the shop with the master. This is largely true of most of the images seen in the curio shops around Kathmandu.

In the case of the Vajra Sattva, however, the entire process was in the hands of the master of the shop, Bodhi Raj Sakya. For although the making of wax mold-pieces demands little skill, the positioning and fitting of these pieces once they are made is important, determining the stance, balance and grace of the final image. Also, in the case of the Vajra Sattva, several minor changes were made in the image for which no das were available. The vajra which is placed in the figure's right hand was enlarged and cast separately, and the flowing rings of material beneath each elbow were added.

Once the wax figure is completed, it is completely covered in clay to form the mold which will receive the molten metal when the statue is cast. This particular process is crucial, for it is the mold as well as the wax which will ultimately determine the quality of the casting. The clay is put on in several layers, anywhere from three to five layers being used depending on the care that is to be taken in producing the image. The first two layers are light applications of a very fine-grained grey clay, which is applied in a liquid state and then dried. Care must be taken that these first applications of clay reach into every corner of the wax figure so that a tight fit is assured around the wax. Nails are driven into the wax before the clay is applied to bond the clay to the wax and prevent distortion in the mold.

After each coat of grey clay has been applied and has dried, coats of progressively coarser and thicker clay are pasted onto the image. Eventually the features of the face and even the outlines of the body disappear under successive coatings of clay, so that when the statue is ready for casting, its shape can only dimly be discerned in the outlines of the bulky mold.

The process of applying the various layers of clay is the most time consuming step in the entire casting procedure, often taking as long as two months. The caster is at the mercy of the weather during this time, since the clay must dry evenly in the sun to assure that the wax model is not distorted nor the clay cracked by uneven drying. Obviously, for this reason, certain seasons are considered more auspicious than others for the manufacture of a statue. The best season is from March to May, when the sun is strong and the rains have not yet come. It is not satisfactory to dry the clay mold before a fire, for fear of either prematurely melting the wax or cracking the mold.

When all the layers of clay have been completely dried, the wax is melted and poured from the mold; this wax will be re-used. The mold is then left to sit for several days before casting, although the period between the melting of the wax and casting should not exceed one week, as the interior of the mold is then subject to deterioration.

Up until the time of casting, the process of preparing the final mold has taken from one and half months to approximately three and half months. In the case of the Vajra Sattva, the mold was ready to receive the metal approximately six weeks after the wax model had been begun. This was largely due to the fine hot weather experienced during the months of March and April, which allowed each layer to dry quickly and evenly.

The two months of preparation are to be consummated in only one day. Casting is the climax of the process of manufacturing a statue. In one afternoon, over one month of delicate labor will either be rewarded or wasted. And if the casting is successful, then another month of finishing work will lie ahead.

In the case of the Vajra Sattva, the afternoon of the casting was particularly suspenseful. As was mentioned earlier, the original wax was made for a brass statue. Furthermore, the wax had been made in one piece, rather than in two, as is usual when preparing a copper statue of such a large size. The decision to cast the piece in copper rather than brass was made after the wax figure had been surrounded by its clay cocoon, so that no alterations could be made in the wax. Bodhi Raj Sakya had never before attempted to cast such a large copper statue in one piece with so thin a wax.

On the day of casting, two ovens are prepared and fired. The empty mold is placed in the first oven which is fed with wood fuel. Care must be taken that when the metal is poured the temperature of the mold and the metal are close enough to prevent the clay from cracking and to prevent the metal from cooling too quickly inside the mold.

The copper is melted inside a closed oven in an open crucible. It is melted bit by bit, with the caster adding metal as soon as the last addition has been completely melted and assimilated.

The best type of copper for casting purposes is pure copper in thin sheets, known as 'copper tin', although all forms of pure copper, including wiring and bits of copper utensils, are also used. The caster ascertains the readiness of the copper by watching the flames issuing from the oven in which the metal is being melted. This oven, constructed of bricks and clay, is fed by coal, rather than wood, and is constantly attended to by mechanical bellows.

When the copper is completely ready for pouring, the mold is taken from the oven and laid against some supporting material, usually piled bricks, base upwards. An inverted wax tripod attached to the original wax base of the figure forms a conduit for the metal once the wax has been melted and poured out. In the case of the Vajra Sattva, the mold was allowed to cool briefly before the crucible containing the copper was taken from its oven and the molten metal poured.

The next few moments are crucial. The crucible containing the metal is taken from the oven and inspected to make sure that the copper is completely and evenly melted. Then the metal is

poured into the mold. First the main figure is cast, and then any separate pieces (in the cases of the Vajra Sattva, the top of the head and the vajra were separately cast). When the mold has been completely filled, excess copper, if any, is poured into a piece of clay so that it can be used again. Then the metal is left to cool and harden for about fifteen to thirty minutes. The cooling is speeded by pouring cold water over the mold, which emits huge volumes of steam. Finally the entire mold is placed in a large jug of water to complete the cooling process.

When the mold is cool enough to touch, it is broken open. This is the moment of greatest excitement. Like a butterfly emerging from a chrysalis, the image sheds its skin of clay. The form of the god, familiar from the time it was seen some weeks before, again appears.

But the dull grey of the wax shall have been replaced by the iridescent rainbow hues of freshly cast copper. It is perhaps at this moment that the magic of the image cast in metal exerts its most powerful influence. The casting is perfect, without a flaw. Bodhi Raj, a few moments before nervous and worried, sits down with a smile to drink a cup of beverage brought by his wife. Soon the statue is completely clean, and is set, still resting on its inverted tripod, against a wall to be admired. The casting is finished.

After the Vajra Sattva had been cast by Bodhi Raj Sakya, it was taken to be smoothed and engraved by another artisan, Siddhi Raj Sakya (no relation to Bodhi Raj). The statue when it emerged from its clay mold was somewhat rough, due to the impression of the clay on the surface of the metal. Thus the first step in 'engraving', as the entire process of finishing a statue is called, is sanding. Only sandpaper is used, as steel wool is not suitable if the statue is to be gold-plated; the steel filings left behind would interfere with the process of gilding.

Sanding is only the first step in the case of a statue which has been well cast. When a statue is poorly cast or has some flaws which are not so serious as to justify melting down the metal, it is repaired, by welding other pieces of the same material to the affected areas.

When the sanding is completely finished, then the actual process of engraving begins. Using small chisels, the engraver redefines and sharpens the details built into the original work, and in some cases does original engraving work, chiseling scrolllike designs into clothing, etc. In some cases, he may inlay other metals into the surface of the statue. Several bronze statues have been made in Oku Bahal with three other metals (copper, brass

and silver) inlaid into the clothing. In the case of the image of Vajra Sattva, the only work of this type that was done was the insertion of silver eyes.

It was during the process of engraving the Vajra Sattva that the hidden problems that were mentioned earlier began to appear. The unusual thinness of the original wax became a serious weakness. It is extremely difficult to do engraving work on a large and unwieldy statue without putting stress on exposed parts of the drapery and crown, and when this stress was applied the soft copper, cast too thin, began to give. Cracks appeared on the back and neck of the figure, the vajra at the top of the head broke off, and sections of the crown began to break and bend. Such problems can be repaired, but not without sacrificing some of the beauty and fineness of the piece as a whole, since wires of different metals once soldered on and applied, cannot be engraved for fear of again putting too much stress on the weakened area. Cracks through the main body of the statue cannot be repaired, and the only recourse in such cases is to leave them as they are or hope that if the statue is to be gilded the gold will fill the cracks. It is probable that these problems would not have appeared, had the statue been cast in brass as was originally intended or had the wax been of the correct thickness for a copper casting.

It must be said that the art of engraving has not maintained the same high standard over the years as that of sculpting. This is largely due to the vicissitudes of a mass market for cast images, all of which must be finished. A sculptor who intends to make a *das* of a sculpture and repeat the design will spend a great deal of time and effort on the original, knowing that the future popularity of the design will depend upon its aesthetic value. If the original is beautiful, then the sculptor will sell many; if not, the design will not be in demand. As a result, a commercial but skilled sculptor such as Bodhi Raj Sakya will take great care on any original piece he makes, for he knows his reward for a job well done will be orders for copies, which can be turned out by the use of *das*. In this way, the tourist market for images has, in a certain sense, kept the quality of sculpting high; unfortunately, it has not had the same effect on the craft of engraving, for which the Newari artists used to be so famed. Previously, images were produced singly, and of course were only produced for religious purposes; thus a great deal of work would go into both the sculpting, which was done without the use of *das*, and the engraving, with the engraver knowing fully well that the image on which he was working was unique, and would be set in a temple or on a household altar. Since there were far less statues being produced, it is likely that he had a great deal of time to spend on each image with which he worked. Now hundreds of images are being produced per month in such centres of casting as Oku Bahal,

and each of these images, even a brass statue whose final cost might be only 50 Rupees, must be sanded and engraved. Such engraving is done on a daily wage basis, and, in order to keep the price of images as low as possible, the amount of time spent on engraving is kept to a minimum. As a result, most of the finishing work is hurried and sloppy, and the skills of most of the engravers has atrophied. The fine engraving work which used to be the trademark of a Nepalese bronze has now all but disappeared. It is hoped that the demand for expensive but finely finished pieces will grow, and thus create a need for fine engravers; there is no doubt that if such a demand existed, the latent talents of the Newari engravers would again reappear.

Although the procedures used by Bodhi Raj and Manjoti in the sculpting of the Vajra Sattva and the Vajra Pani were in most respects the same, there were certain differences, caused by the different metals used, and also the different ways in which the two men sculpt.

Since Bodhi Raj had already made several images of Vajra Sattva previous to the one written of above, and since he is a commercial caster who almost always makes an image with the intention of making others of the same design, he used a das when preparing the wax figure of Vajra Sattva. On the other hand, Manjoti, who is not a curio shop sculptor, did not have a das of the Vajra Pani, and the entire image had to be sculpted from raw wax. As a result the making of the wax was the most time-consuming part of the whole casting procedure in the case of Vajra Pani, whereas, in the case of Bodhi Raj's Vajra Sattva, the wax was completed in very little time. It must be emphasized, of course, that although Bodhi Raj uses a das for statues he has cast previously, he is also a creative sculptor who is constantly adding to his list of original creations.

Other differences are accounted for by the differences in size and the metals used in manufacturing the two images. The Vajra Pani was cast in two pieces, base and figure, and in both cases, more than one conduit pipe was used to ease the flow of the metal into the mold. The actual figure of Vajra Pani was cast from the back, rather than from the feet, as is customary. Tej Joti had decided that the image would cast more perfectly if several conduits were used, and this was not possible if the figure were to be cast from the feet.

Since the Vajra Pani was cast in bronze and not in copper, a closed crucible was used to melt the metal. The oven in which the metal was melted was fed by charcoal, rather than coal, as coal is only necessary in copper casting, charcoal being used for both bronze and brass.

2. Tools, Materials and Metallurgy

The tools required in sculpting and casting are relatively simple. All that is required for sculpting are a few bone implements for shaping and smoothing, a metal implement which is heated for shaping cooled wax, a smooth stone table for rolling and flattening the wax, and a clay pot for the charcoal fire which is used to heat and soften the wax. Casting tools are also relatively simple, consisting largely of iron tongs of several sizes for grasping and pouring the molds and crucibles. Two ovens are used, one for heating the mold and one for melting the metals; the Indian mechanical bellows used to fan the flames is probably the most technologically advanced tool in any casting workshop; other than this item the tools have doubtless remained the same over the centuries. The crucibles are of two kinds; a closed crucible of clay for bronze or brass, and an open crucible of glazed clay for copper. The former is made by the casters themselves, while the latter is imported from India.

The wax used in modelling is a combination of bee's wax, ghee, and 'shilla' (Newari), a tree resin imported from India. The bee's wax is brought from Trisuli and Barabise with some coming from Pokhara. The combination of these ingredients varies with the season. Dark wax, used in the winter months, is a combination of 1 darne of bee's wax to 1 and 1/2 to 2 pou of shilla, with about 1/2 pou of ghee added, while light wax is a mixture of 2 - 3 pou of shilla to the same amount of bee's wax. Thus the light, or summer wax is stiffer and less likely to melt in the heat of the summer sun. The light wax generally replaces the winter wax in March, and it is used until October. The final wax, of either type, which is called 'shee' in Newari, costs about 65 rupees per darne. The casters mix it themselves. Wax that has been melted out of a mold is reused, with the ghee replaced.

The clay used in the first, or inner layers of the mold is grey and fine in texture, and is found in various places in the valley several feet beneath the topsoil; the casters purchase it from Jyapoo farmers. The outer layers of clay are of a less fine yellow soil mixed with paddy husks, which gives lighter weight and a rough texture.

Of the three metals usually used in casting, copper is the most difficult to melt and cast, and bronze is slightly more difficult than brass. All three are bought in the market in Kathmandu; the best copper is imported from India in sheets, as is the best brass; but with both these metals, scrap pieces, old wire and utensils are also melted down and used for casting; The best bronze is in the form of old plates and pots bought in the market. The prices for these metals at the time of this writing

are as follows: brass 29 rupees per darne; bronze 45 rupees per darne; and copper 75 to 80 rupees per darne.

It is difficult to ascertain the melting points of these metals since we do not have the proper instruments. According to the casters, copper has the highest melting point bronze, a combination of copper and tin, less than that of copper, and brass, a combination of copper and zinc, the lowest. When coal is used, the melting time for two darne of copper is about two hours, whereas if charcoal is used the melting time would be doubled. Brass and bronze both take about one hour for two darne to melt with charcoal as fuel.

Other metals are also occasionally cast in Oku Bahal, such as silver, 'white metal', and, very often, iron. Both 'white metal', an alloy, and silver are easy to cast, but iron is very difficult. There is one image presently in Puspa Raj Sakya's shop that was cast solid with melted silver pieces which contains five kilograms of 85% pure silver; obviously, due to the expense, this is not often done.

As to their relative merits as materials, each metal has its own advantages and drawbacks. Copper is difficult to melt and cast, as well as being expensive, but is very easy to engrave, being soft and malleable, and is relatively easy to repair in cases of minor areas of miscasting. Another advantage of copper is that it is easy to gild. It is the only metal now gilded in Oku Bahal. Bronze, although it is a traditional metal, is rarely used because it is brittle and very difficult to engrave. Brass is the most frequently used metal because it is easy to cast and relatively easy to engrave (though not so easy as copper). Neither bronze nor brass is gilded in Oku Bahal, although the casters have said that it is possible to gild pure brass or bronze. In cases of minor mis-casting, both bronze and brass are more difficult to repair than copper.

IV. Style, Quality and the influence of the Past.

It is not enough to base a case for the continuing excellence of Nepalese image casting on the mere fact that images are still being made. Obviously, if no talent for sculpture is shown in any of the images produced by the casters of Oku Bahal, then the art of casting in Nepal can indeed be declared dead.

Fortunately, talent in sculpture is not in short supply in Oku Bahal. Several of the casters who work there are creative artists of the first rank, as the accompanying photographs will certainly show.

In terms of style and tradition, the sculptors of Oku Bahal are not limited to one particular vision, as were their fore-fathers. They are influenced by styles long dead, as well as styles that began in the last two centuries. With the advent of photography and art books, the sculptors are able to pursue through images of sculptures that were manufactured during the Gupta period in India as well as those of 19th century Tibet; such access to so many images was of course denied to their ancestors. The result of this profusion of models is a corresponding profusion of styles, so that an approach from the point of view of art history is difficult. One caster in Oku Bahal has even made very beautiful brass copies of Gandhara images carved from stone.

Nevertheless, it is possible to see that each caster has his own particular preference in terms of style, and in each image sculpted, even if no model was used, the antecedents of the sculpture can be clearly seen. The following five examples, taken from the work of Bodhi Raj Sakya and Manjoti Sakya, will serve as an indication of the influence of previous styles and also as testimony of the sculpting skill of these two artists:

1. The Singhal Dhyani Buddhas of Manjoti Sakya.

These four images, of Amitabha, Akshobhya, Amoghasiddhi, and Ratnasambhava, are located in the four directional niches of Singhal stupa near Tahiti tole in Kathmandu. They were cast approximately 20 years ago on the order of a businessman of the Udas caste. About 18 inches high, they were cast in copper. The sculpting was done without a model, but as was mentioned earlier, Ananda Muni, a famous Nepalese painter, helped with iconographical details.

These images have stylistic precedents in Nepalese art. One image of Lord Buddha Sakyamuni in the Patan museum, dated fifteenth century,⁹ is very close to Manjoti's image in style, although the face has a more chiselled and arch expression than the faces of the Singhal images, in which the expression is soft and muted. The greatest similarity is apparent in the sturdy build of the bodies and the monastic robes in which the images are clothed. This type of clothing is an indication of a direct influence from Tibetan styles. The Tibetan influence on Nepalese art has been strong

and vital ever since the fall of the Indian traditions and the cultural exchange between Nepal and Tibet began; in fact, influence from Indian and Tibetan traditions can often be seen in Nepalese pieces which were manufactured at the same time. Thus there are several published examples of Nepalese bronze Buddha images made during the fifteenth century in which the clothing is soft and diaphanous, as is the case with Indian Gupta-period Buddha figures, and the right shoulder is left bare.¹⁰ This contrasts quite sharply with the Tibetan tradition of clothing the figure of a Buddha in monastic robes which hide rather than emphasize the outlines of the body, and in which the right shoulder is always covered.

Whereas a direct influence from Indian art is no longer possible, as the art is dead, the Tibetan influence on the work of casters such as Manjoti is still very strong even today. Several of the artisans of Oku Bahal have had direct contact with Tibetan artists. Nati Kaji Sakya, for example, who fashions repousse calendars and plaques, went to Lhasa before the Chinese takeover and learned engraving and goldsmithing there. (Manjoti makes the bronze molds from which his plaques are beaten.) Although Manjoti himself has never been to Tibet, the Tibetan influence is obvious in his work. The book of drawings alluded to earlier, which he studied for iconographical details, was drawn by a Tibetan artist, and this surely influenced him. Many of his commissions come from refugee Tibetans, and, whenever they bring a model to follow, whether it be a painting, drawing, or image, it is also in the Tibetan idiom.

It must be emphasized, however, that Manjoti, like all fine artists, is not self-consciously aware of the forces which shape his style. When he was asked whether he preferred Tibetan or Nepalese style, he laughed and said, 'They are the same.' The exchanges over the centuries between these two great cultures lend more than a grain of truth to this statement.

Whatever the style, the image of a Buddha is central to Asian art. It is the ultimate artistic expression of the Buddhist religion; and as such, it has always fascinated Asian artists, whether they be Indian, Nepalese or Tibetan. The difference between a beautiful and successful image and one which fails is very slight, and can only be measured in slight alterations of stance, balance and expression. The Sigal images of Manjoti must be judged a success, for they well express the sublimity and peace which is the essence of Buddhism. In the opinion of the authoys, the four images cast by Manjoti contrast favourably with the fifth, that of Vairocana, which was cast earlier by a different artist. The Vairocana figure is poorly

modelled and seems somehow out of proportion, with too thin a neck and narrow shoulders. As so often happens with late period images of the Buddha, the smile is pinched and almost silly. In Manjoti's figures, on the other hand, the bodies are firm and graceful, leading the eyes upwards towards the face, on which is modelled the famous expression which is the goal of any Buddhist painter or sculptor, the smile of complete understanding.

2. Vajra Pani of Manjoti Sakya

This 24 inch figure was cast in bronze on commission from the authors. Manjoti had previously done one other figure of Vajra Pani, somewhat smaller, in brass; it was commissioned approximately ten years ago, on private order from a Newari man for his household order. This first image was sculpted with photos of a Tibetan thanka and his book of drawings as models; he did not, however, take a das of the first image, so the second was also sculpted from raw wax.

The Tibetan style in this image is obvious; the models used in sculpting it were Tibetan in origin, and the god himself, very popular with Tibetan Buddhists, is very rarely seen in Nepalese art. In the image itself, the Tibetan influence is manifested in the crown of skulls, ornaments, drapery, and the lunging movement of the body.

As in all images of wrathful deities, the goal of the artist is not to express subtlety and peace, but energy and action. Although in our opinion this is less difficult a task than the successful rendition of the smile of a Buddha, it is a task in which Manjoti has certainly succeeded. The face of the god is contorted and grimacing, as befits the great 'Wrathful Protector' Vajra Pani, and his body, squat and powerful, lunges forcefully to the right. One stylistic device seems to be entirely Manjoti's, as we have never before encountered it in images of this type, either Tibetan or Nepalese; that is the bumpy contours of the cheeks and nose of the god, which adds considerably to the ferocity of expression.

3. Vajra Sattva of Bodhi Raj Sakya

Cast for the authors in copper, this figure is one of a series of similar 16 inch Bodhisattva images which form one of the most popular groups of Bodhi Raj's images.

Again, the Tibetan influence is strong in this figure. Early Nepalese Bodhisattva images are more compact and modelled than this image, with less emphasis on flowing drapery, although there is usually a great deal of fine engraving and finishing work.

Whether Tibetan or Nepalese in style, the figure is certainly one of the finest images of its kind ever produced by a Nepalese sculptor. It compares extremely favourably with images of the same god which can be seen in various temples in the valley, such as Swayambhunath and Sigal stupa.

The Sigal image, for instance, which sits at the top of a high pole facing the stupa on the side opposite the entrance, is somewhat less graceful than the Vajra Sattva of Bodhi Raj. Although it too shows Tibetan influence in the drapery and crown, the body is somewhat too squat and stiff to take full advantage of the gods asana, which Bodhi Raj has incorporated into a flowing, graceful flexion of the body. In Bodhi Raj's image, there is a pleasing combination of movement and quiescence which gives an impression of peace without any impression of stagnation. As in all of Bodhi Raj's images, the proportions are perfect.

4. Chakra Samvara of Bodhi Raj Sakya

Bodhi Raj originally made this image on the order of a Newari curio shop owner nine years ago. He worked with a small Tibetan statue as a model, and his original piece was a miniature of 6 inches. Later he enlarged the same design to 12 inches.

In terms of complexity, tantric pieces such as this image are the most challenging for a Buddhist sculptor. It is difficult to create a sense of grace or beauty in an image with such a profusion of arms and legs, and with such a wealth of mandatory iconographical symbolism and detail. In Oku Bahal, many armed tantric statues have been the speciality of a Jyapoo sculptor known as Kalu, who was discovered by a Sakya businessman when sculpting clay images, and was hired to make wax images which were then cast. Kalu's images, though done with a commendable ferocity of expression and energy, tend to be somewhat stiff and static. Each arm in these pieces is a duplicate of any other arm, and the limbs are placed in a fan-like arrangement with no variation in position. Bodhi Raj, on the other hand, sculpted his Samvara in a graceful supple pose, which gives the impression of dance-like movement. Each arm and hand is held in a different position, bending from elbow and wrist. The two embracing bodies sway to the left, while the heads of Samvara are slightly bent to the right. The entire impression is that of an image which was caught in the middle of a cosmic dance, and which at any moment might spring to life.

Again, this figure shows a strong Tibetan influence, although in tantric images such as this one the distinction between a purely Nepalese or purely Tibetan style is negligible.

5. Indra of Bodhi Raj Sakya

Usually cast in solid copper, Bodhi Raj's 10 inch image of Indra, Lord of the gods, was first sculpted 3 to 4 years ago with an antique Nepalese image used as a model. He has stated that in sculpting it, he made various changes in the model's posture, face and crown.

It is the opinion of the authors that this image is perhaps the finest piece created by a 20th century Nepalese sculptor; it is also our opinion that it is the finest image of Lord Indra that we have ever seen. It compares favourably with images of the same god that have been published in art books, of which there are many, since this god has always been a favourite subject for Nepalese sculptors. The statue which it most closely resembles is the 10 inch bronze image a photograph of which is published in Kramrisch's Art of Nepal.¹¹ There are differences between the two however; in the Kramrisch bronze, the head is bent downwards, as if in a pensive mood, and the legs are in the posture known as 'Lalitasana', the position of 'royal ease', with one leg tucked up as in the lotus position, and the other pendant. Bodhi Raj has sculpted his Indra with head held high and erect, and with the right foot resting on the left knee. The entire impression is one of slightly arrogant repose, as might well befit the 'Lord of the Gods'. It would not be fitting to suggest that the impression of haughtiness pervading Bodhi Raj's Indra is more fitting than the somewhat more reflective attitude seen in the Kramrisch bronze, for Indra is capable of many moods; but it is possible to make a qualitative distinction between the two pieces on other grounds. The antique piece has certain flaws which render it, though beautiful, somewhat less than perfect; the legs seem slightly short when judged against the length of the torso and arms. The feet are stiff and the ankles overly thick, and the pose suggests some tension and strain, as though effort was needed to keep the right leg raised and supporting the arm which rests on the right knee, which contradicts the desired impression of 'royal ease'. Bodhi Raj's figure, on the other hand, is convincingly effortless; no strain whatsoever is suggested in the positioning of the arms and legs; each limb supports another, and the entire figure is supported by the erect spine and straightened left arm. The modelling of the body is extraordinary; the detailed feet, tapering ankles, sculpted knees and limply hanging right hand suggest a knowledge of anatomy truly remarkable in an Asian religious sculptor. Not a single detail mars the overall impression of grace, balance and fluid repose with which this image is imbued.

There is of course no question of Tibetan influence in this statue, for whereas Indra has always been a popular subject for

Nepalese artists, he is practically unknown to the Tibetans. Of all the gods of Asia, Indra is the most purely Nepalese in terms of religious art.

The art of casting in Nepal is now in a state of flux and transition. The casters who are working today belong to a crucial generation of Nepalese sculptors, for they live between a past that had not changed appreciably for several centuries and a future which may hold more change than even the most far sighted can predict. With the opening of the Kathmandu valley to tourism and the accompanying western ideas and values, all Nepalese are subject to influence which might tend to draw them away from the traditions of the past. Some observers have predicted that ancient skills will be lost in a rush towards the modern age; it is our opinion, however, that this will not be the case with the art of image casting. The Sakya craftsmen of Oku Bahal have already shown the flexibility and devotion to their art which has kept their skills alive over so many centuries, and which, in the midst of modernization, has brought about a profusion of talent so impressive as to warrant the term 'renaissance'. It is our opinion that the work of these sculptors is not only as good as that of artists in the past, but in many cases is better, and is certainly better than any sculpture done within the last century.

We would suggest to any art historians who would mourn the death of Nepalese art that before writing an obituary they should pay a visit to the sculptors of Oku Bahal.

FOOTNOTES

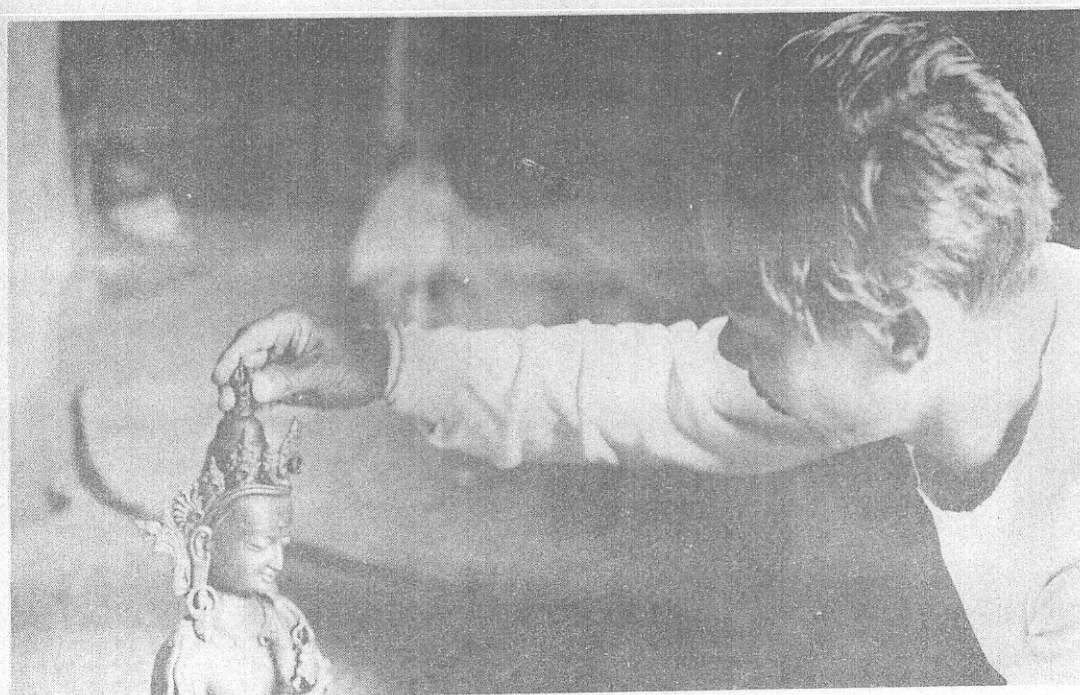
1. Kramrisch, Stella, The Art of Nepal, Asia House Gallery Publication, New York, 1964, p. 49
2. Mehta, Rustam J., Masterpieces of Indian Bronzes and Metal Sculpture, D.B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Pty. Ltd. Bombay, 1971, p. 20
3. Coomaraswamy, Ananda, Rupam, Vol 2, as quoted by Mehta, Rustam J., op. cit., p. 23-24
4. Mehta, Rustam J., op. cit., p. 32.
5. Mehta, Rustam J., op. cit., p. 32.
6. Nepali, Gopal Singh, The Newars, United Asia Publications, Bombay, 1965, p. 77.
7. This estimate is that of Puspa Raj Sakya of Oku Bahal. Most of the information contained in this part of the report comes from him.
8. This legendary figure, as explained by Manjoti Sakya is presumably a character from the 'Jataka Tales'.
9. Photograph published in Nepal. Art Treasures from the Himalayas, Ernst and Rose Lenore Waldschmidt, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. 1969, Calcutta, Plate 37.
10. Kramrisch, op. cit., p. 85.
11. Kramrisch, op. cit., p. 67



A page from Manjoti's Tibetan book of drawings, showing proportions. (page 31)



Manjoti, Sculpting a wax. (page 30)



Bodhi Raj, placing Vajra on wax of
Vajra Sattva. (page 37)



Manjoti, working on wax of Vajra Pani.
(page 37)



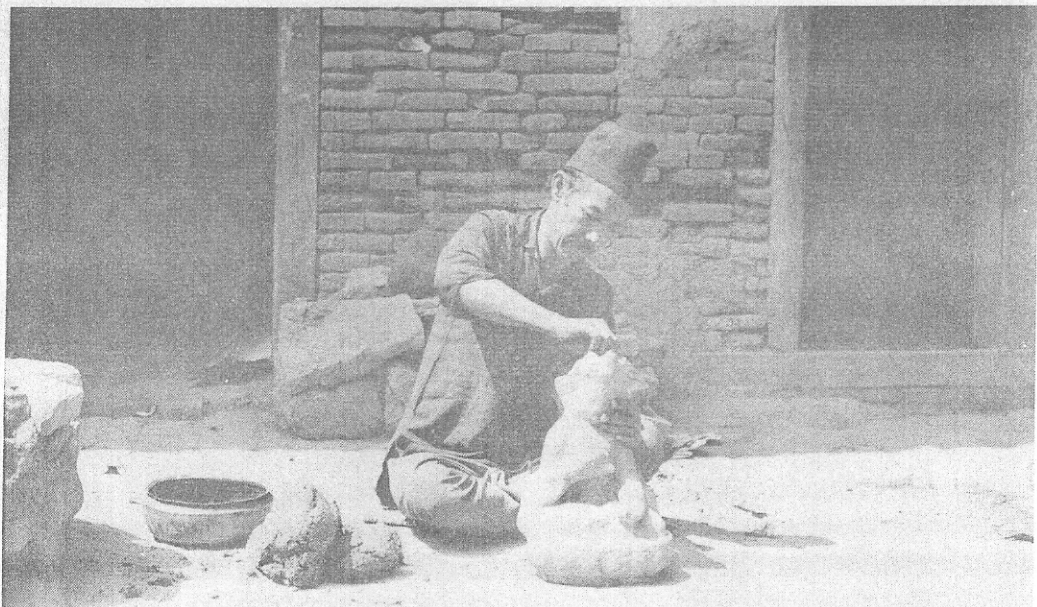
First layer of clay, being applied to
Vajra Pani. (page 37)



Vajra Pani, with first layer of clay.
(page 37)



Sculpting tools and brazier (right: horn tools; left: metal tools). (page 42)

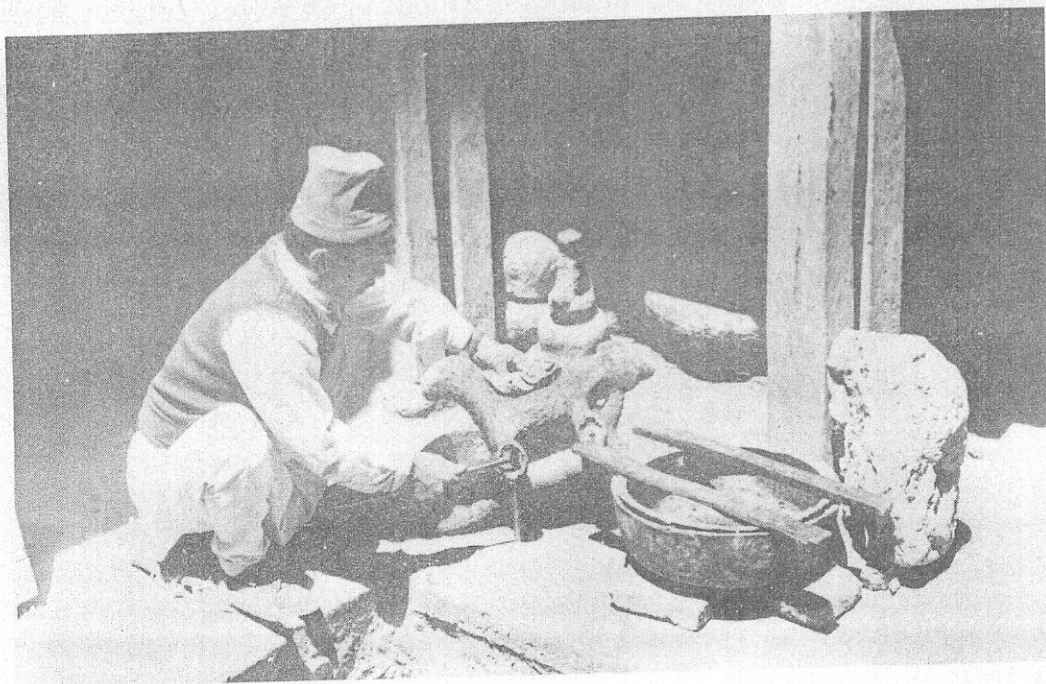


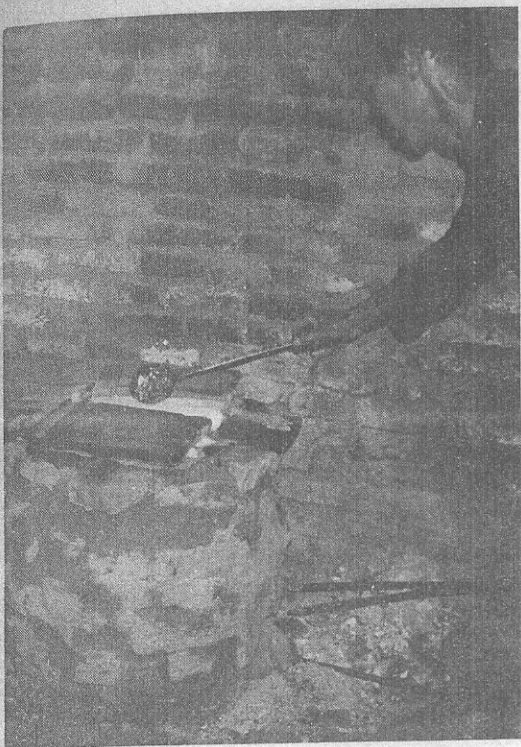
Bodhi Raj, applying final layer of clay to Vajra Sattva. (page 37)



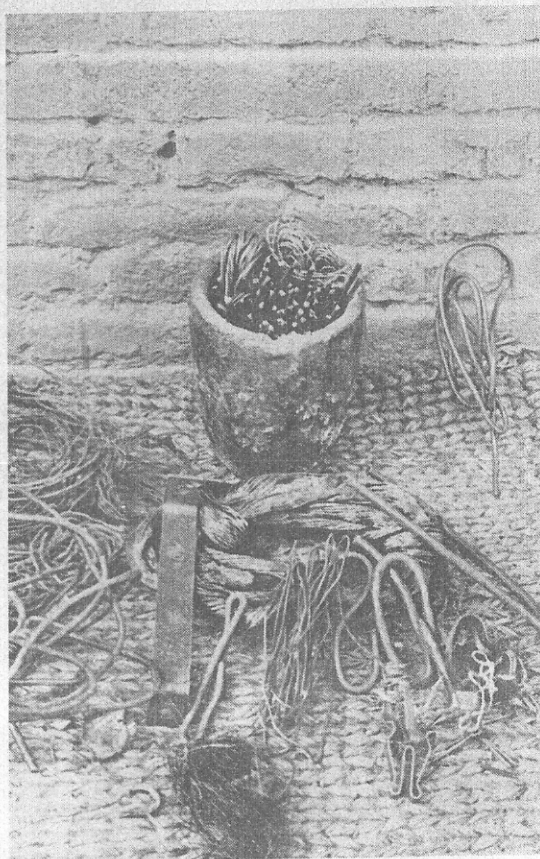
Vajra Pani, with final layer of clay applied. (page 37)

Tej Joti, removing wax from the mold. (page 29)

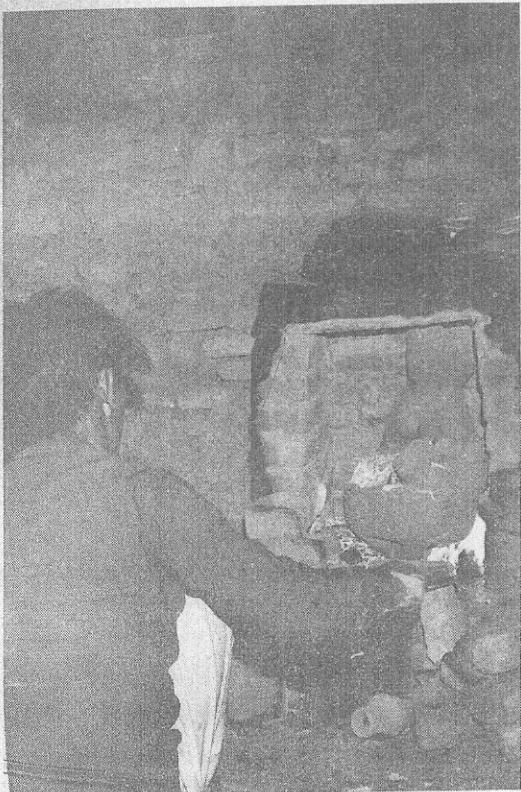




Bodhi Raj, adding copper to crucible
(page 38)



Copper used for casting with open crucible.
(page 38)



Bodhi Raj removing mold from oven. (page 38)



Bodhi Raj, casting. (page 35)

Bodhi Raj, casting Vajra Sattva.





Bodhi Raj, breaking the mold after casting (page 39)



Indra. (page 47)
(Bodhi Raj Sakya)



How Jang Bahadur Established

Rana Rule in Nepal

Madhav Raj Pandey

The Kot Massacre of 1846 gave sufficient power to Jang Bahadur to establish his dictatorial rule in Nepal. The butchery began after the murder of Gagan Singh, the power behind the throne on the 14th of September. Almost all the spirited nobles and the highest officers were either killed or exiled. King Rajendra Bikram Shah was on the throne. He was intimidated. He, against his conscience, had to confirm Jang Bahadur's appointment as 'Mukhtyar' and Commander-in-chief made in his name by Queen regent Rajya Lakshmi Devi, on whom he had conferred all his power and who was the real author of that tragedy¹. Jang Bahadur was vested with all the civil, military and judicial powers. The property of all the nobles and officers, who were either killed or fled away, was confiscated. Everyone, whose loyalty was doubted by the 'Mukhtyar' was dismissed from the service and those, who had helped him to make the massacre successful, were profusely rewarded. King Rajendra was insulted. His trusted body-guard Sardar Bhawani Singh was beheaded. The king could do nothing. The Queen Regent had shown favour to Jang Bahadur to make her own son Prince Ranendra the heir - apparent by killing or ousting her step-sons, crown-prince Surendra Bikram Shah and his brother Prince Upendra Bikram Shah. The shrewd general might have promised to help her in her designs before he felt himself strong to face her. Now he was powerful. The queen began to be shown scant respect. She was bewildered. Then she decided to kill him and to appoint Bir Dhoj Basnet a Courtier the 'Mukhtyar' or the sole minister. A plan was made to kill him at Bhandarkhal in Hannuman Dhoka Palace. The plot was betrayed. Bir Dhoj, who had been sent to bring him, was killed. With him the rest of the old nobility perished. Jang Bahadur thought that the queen's presence in the country might bring calamities upon him. He disobeyed and insulted her. King Rajendra also thought it better to leave the country at least for some time. So in 1846 after the Bhandarkhal massacre he issued a firman (with red seal) proclaiming his resolve to go on pilgrimage with the queen and her sons. By the same order he empowered Jang Bahadur to ban the entry of the two sons of the queen in the capital and to kill the servants of the queen with the help of the army in case they helped the princes with arms and ammunitions². Just after a fortnight he issued another order with the red seal authorising Crown Prince Surendra to sit on the throne in case, while on pilgrimage, he would be made captive by the British government or in case he would not come back even at his fortieth year of age.³ It is quite certain that the king had to issue this order the pressure of the minister. The latter might be in secret correspondence with the British East India for the arrest of the King, while in India. Another royal order was issued by which Crown

Prince Surendra⁴ was to get regency during his absence. Jang Bahadur thought that it was necessary to have royal appreciation of his deeds in Kot and Bhandarkhal massacres to show that he did not commit heinous crimes of his own accord and to win the hearts of the people. So proclamation with red seal was issued showing that all the crimes committed by Jang Bahadur upto the days of Bhandarkhal massacre were due to compulsion from the Queen-Regent and that he was pardoned for these offences. By the same proclamation the minister was appreciated by the king for killing and crushing the conspirators involved in Kot and Bhandarkhal incidents. According to that proclamation they were killed or crushed because they were plotting against the Crown Prince and the Second Prince. The same proclamation shows that the rank of Maharajadhiraj had been bestowed upon the Crown-Prince in 1842. Queen Rajyalakshmi has been charged of being disloyal and despotic. The proclamation reiterated the King's determination to go on pilgrimage and authorised Jang Bahadur to be the full administrator of the country under the command of the heir-apparent. The same proclamation asserted the loyalty of Jang to the King ⁵ In this way Jang Bahadur wielded sufficient power to cope with the intrigues of the queen. He began to demand her immediate exile. Then she was put under house arrest. The State Council or Bharadari was summoned, which held her responsible for all the conspiracies and atrocities. She was asked to quit the country for Varanasi. The king through a proclamation had already shown his determination to go on pilgrimage. He re-expressed his inclination. He accompanied the queen. The heir-apparent, who had been a tool of Jang Bahadur, became to regent. As his power rested on the sword, Jang felt it necessary that an order should be promulgated from the Regent authorising him to inflict capital punishment on the Kiths and Kins of those persons, who were beheaded in Kot and Bhandarkhal massacres. To prohibit their entry to the country orders were despatched to Hetauda, Palpa, Sindhuli and other important posts.⁶ Jang Bahadur could not be satisfied even with such powers. His suspicious nature made him think that he had still enemies within the country. He felt that the royal family itself might turn one day against him. He was now the Prime-minister. All the important Civil and military posts had been filled by his brothers and cousins. Through a proclamation the Regent (Surendra) gave him power to deal with the person and property of the people. It was also promised that no punishment would be inflicted on the Prime-minister or on his family unless and until there was treachery or mis-appropriation on their part. The people were warned that even in case the Regent commanded them to injure the person, property and respect of the Primeminister and his family they should not do so otherwise they would be either made outcaste or killed⁷ after that the prince appreciating his deeds for killing Bir Dhoj and for installing him on the throne promised that he would not dismiss him from office till he would show his loyalty and that the member of the families of those who

were involved in the Kot and Bhandarkhal massacres would not be called back even at the request of the royal family. It was also promised in the names of God Pashupati and Goddess Guhyeshwari that the king would not harm the person and property of the minister and his relatives as long as they were loyal. Prince Uprendra also had to promise that he would make no interference in the minister's power to retain or dismiss or promote the government servants. He also promised that as long as he would get allowance of a lakh of rupees per annum he would not have the 'Mukhtyar' - ship from Jang or from his family.^{7a} In this way Jang made the second prince powerless.

King Rajendra Bikram Shah was repenting for his blunders. Now he realised how he was befooled by his own consort Rajya Lakshmi Devi and by Jang Bahadur. He rose from slumber and decided to overthrow the shrewd minister and to re-instate his own position as de-jure and de-facto sovereign of Nepal. The nobles who were living exiled life rallied round him at Varanasi. The queen too had not relinquished her hope to finish Jang Bahadur and to re-instate her own position. An army was organised to attack Nepal.

Jang Bahadur was shrewd enough to procure from King Rajendra a proclamation through which he had authorised the heir-apparent to sit on the throne in case he was detained by the Company's government in India or he would not come back before his fortieth birthday. The minister at first thought of entering into negotiations with the India Government to detain him there. Later on he revised his opinion. He thought that Rajendra's stay in India would create intrigues against him and there might be danger of civil war in Nepal too. Thus he once or twice urged the king to come back. There was no response. Two assassins had been sent to raise the army against the minister and to take his life. The plot was exposed. Then Jang thought that the time was ripe to install his own puppet on the throne of Nepal. Accordingly Prince-Regent Surendra was proclaimed king amidst general acclamation. King Rajendra at that time was at Sugauli. He was sent information about the accession of the new king with causes of it. It was again said that if he would come back to Nepal and show loyalty to the king on the throne he would be treated with dignity.⁸ Some kind of royal proclamation was issued at Kathmandu. In that proclamation it was clearly stated that as tradition demands a dethroned king should show respect to the king on the throne and should have no voice in administration. It was also stated that in case the Ex-king would maintain these traditions he would be treated with dignities fitted to the royal personality. It was also said that if the ex-king would not show his loyalty to the crown and did not remain aloof from politics he would be severely dealt with. It was also warned that the ex-king should have no

interest in the foreign policy of Nepal. This proclamation was to make Rajendra, a silent spectator or observer so that he might not play the role of Swami Maharaj, Rana Bahadur, who even after his abdication in favour of King Girvana Yuddha tried to be the de-facto ruler of Nepal and got success in his attempts. Jang Bahadur again urged that he should come to Nepal. Otherwise he thought that the ex-royal court at Varanasi might be the centre of intrigues against him⁹ In case he would like to remain in foreign land peacefully he was to get a handsome allowance ¹⁰ King Rajendra was determined to re-instate his position. From Sugauli his troops proceeded to Barewa and looted the government treasury. The ex-king established his camp at Alau the then head-quarter of Parsa, Bada Captain Sanak Singh Tandon was sent with a regiment of four hundred men to fight the rebels. The troops of the ex-king got a severe defeat - The ex-king himself was arrested and brought to the Capital as a captive in 1847. He was interned in the palace of Bhaktapur for some time and later was allowed to remain at Hanuman Dhoka Palace. Surendra's accession to the throne was recognised by the British government in the same year in November:

China had already recognized King Surendra as the sovereign of Nepal in September.

The ex-king was interned. Apparently there was no fear from him but Jang Bahadur's suspicious mind could not remain undisturbed. He made Rajendra issue a letter to him in which it was stated that Jang Bahadur's action to enthrone the King (Surendra) was right and that by crushing the rebels at Alau he saved the dignity of Rajendra.¹¹ Then the Prime-minister procured a Lal-Mohar from King Surendra Proclaiming that because of his loyalty to the crown, of his tact in guiding the foreign relations with the Company's Government and with China and because of his military skill to crush the rebels and to bring his father with honour, that the premiership would not go to other people except to Jang and his family and that he was appointed Prime-minister for life¹² This Lal Mohar established the dictatorial rule of the Prime-minister in Nepal, for the second time and paved the way for the autocracy of Jang's family. This proclamation also could not free his mind from fear and suspicion. Perhaps his conscience was biting him for his mis-deeds against king Rajendra. So a Lal-Mohar was issued defending the internment of the ex-king in a separate place.¹³ A circular regarding this was issued from the queens and Prince Uprendra. King Surendra had been described as a man with no sense. No doubt he had some mental disturbances. It was due to the circumstances in which he was put to. In reality he was not uneducated. His mother Queen Samrajya Lakshmi was a nationalist to the tips of her fingers. She, during her life-time, had tried to inculcate

nationalism and patriotism in his mind. He had not forgotten the humiliation inflicted on the nation at the Treaty of Sugauli in 1816. In the core of his heart he was waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow upon the English in India. The Chinese attitude towards the Nepalese in those days was not so good. So the King was so much perturbed that he would be prepared to go to any extent to safeguard the prestige of the nation. When such views would be expressed by him Jang Bahadur would be furious. He wanted the support of both the neighbours to strengthen his position. So through a letter Jang Bahadur made him promise not to express such views. ¹⁴ In this way the king's right of expression was suppressed. It seems that the king was feeling great uneasiness due to unnecessary interference of Jang Bahadur in his day-to-day life. There was every possibility that he might conspire against Jang Bahadur. So the latter got alarmed. He asked the king not to take the least concern of the day to day happenings. Through his own proclamation he had to confess his mental weakness and bad temperament. He had to renounce all the duties which rested on him. His queens were vested with that power. It was also stated that after the birth of the eldest son, that child was to sit on the throne and the mother of the son was to act as regent. ¹⁵ Thus the king became a virtual prisoner. Jang Bahadur then thought that the ex-king might be a danger to him. So a Lal-Mohar was issued restricting contact even of the second Prince and of other dignitaries and people without the consent of the minister. According to this Lal-Mohar the ex-king was not to be consulted on foreign and domestic affairs; his words were not to be obeyed; He was not to be permitted to come out of the campus without the command of the King and that of his three queens. By the same Lal-Mohar the king promised that he would pay visit to his father once a month in accordance with advice of his queens and that of the minister. It was also stated that anybody who would keep contact with the ex-king without the consent of the minister would be punished according to his caste. ¹⁶ In this way Jang Bahadur restricted the contact with the ex-king not of the second Prince, other dignitaries and of the people only but of the king too. It is certain that at that time he was expecting a royal coup. When he found himself free from that danger, he made the king powerless in inflicting punishment, in granting rent-free and other types of land, in endowing land for the worships of dieties, in fixing salaries, etc and in negotiating treaties with the foreign powers without his consent. ¹⁷ After procuring this Lal-Mohar Jang Bahadur for sometimes found himself secure. Then he devoted himself to establishing good relationship with the English in India. It was necessary to keep such a relation with the British for the security of the nation and for his own security. In 1848 he offered the India Government the help of the Nepalese troops "to reduce the last defenders of the Sikh Independence; he is politely refused". ¹⁸ According to Dr. Oldfield the offer was not a sincere one it was

made just to bring his name personally before the British Government.¹⁹ Then a drama was played in December 1848 Jang Bahadur left Kathmandu with a large number of Bharadars and a huge army consisting of Six thousand soldiers and fortyone guns, ²⁰ for the terai. According to Dr. Old-field it was not a hunting expedition but an expedition to create alarm in the British territory and to show his power, so that he might have a favourable welcome in England.²¹ But Pudma Jung thinks that it was just a hunting expedition and the troops and influential nobles were taken by him because of the fear of the royal intrigues: (of the ex-king). ²² Whatever it might be, there was a strong protest from the side of the Governor-General of India. The hunting expedition came to an end. In this way intentionally or unintentionally Jang demonstrated his might to the British.

Maharani Chand Kaur of Punjab was a prisoner at the fort of Chunar, She escaped from there and succeeded in reaching Nepal. She requested the Nepal Government for a shelter, Jang Bahadur as the defacto ruler of an independent state rose to the occasion. Despite the protests from the British Government in India the ex-queen was provided with an asylum. By doing this he not only enhanced his position but the prestige of the kingdom also. ²³

The British power in India was becoming a menace. As it was a growing power Jang Bahadur felt it necessary to establish good relationship with that power, For that he thought it better to pay a visit to London. According to General Pudma Jung he wanted to see the English social and political life for improving the Nepalese social conditions. Prof. Sylvain Levi rightly says "Indeed he hopes to double his prestige in Nepal by his relations with the powerful nations of Europe"²⁴

In Nepal Jang Bahadur had raised his social prestige. Through a Lal Mohar - he was invested with the title of Rana for himself and for his family. He was asked to enter into matrimonial relationship with the Rajputs or real kshatriyas.²⁵ By this way social status of the Prime-minister's family was enhanced. After three months another Lal Mohar was issued according to which all the civil and military officials as well as the nobles had to obey the command of Jang Bahadur, even if the king asked them not to do so. ²⁶ This Lal Mohar gave him supreme control over the people of Nepal - high and low.

After feeling his position secure Jang Bahadur decided to see England with his own eyes. ²⁷ He approached the Governer, General in India to procure Visa in the autumn of 1848. He got permission. All necessary arrangements were to be made for him to reach London safely. On January 15, 1850 he left Kathmandu for Europe. That was the first occasion that a chief of the Hindu

blood had crossed the ocean to see Europe without caring the least for the long tradition. So he was looked upon by the Hindu World as a ruler of the most liberal outlook. On May 25, 1850, he as the representative of the sovereign of Nepal, reached London. In London he got a befitting honour as the representative of an independent land. There he tried to acquire thorough knowledge of the British system of administration and that of the British military and technological skills. "He even went down a mine in order to satisfy himself as to the manner in which coal was hewn. He visited Birmingham and Edingurg".²⁸

Jang Bahadur left England on August 21, 1850. He reached Paris. There he got a hearty welcome from the President of France, Prince Louis Napoleon (afterwards Emperor Napoleon III) a review of one hundred thousand troops was demonstrated to him. The President presented him a sword of honour.

On the 18th of September when he was at Cairo Jang was accorded a princely reception by Abbas Pasha. Then he reached India through Suez. He visited holy places. At Varanasi he was met by his former mistress and Ex-Queen Rajya Lakshmi, with her two sons, Prince Ranendra and Prince Birendra with submission.

Jang Bahadur thought that his journey to Britain and other countries helped him to get the highest position in Nepal. In England and France he was accorded high receptions befitting to a prince. At Varanasi his former mistress met him most submissively. He felt that he could administer Nepal according to his own sweet will without any opposition from both the royal side and the public side. But all of a sudden his hope was shattered. Before reaching the Nepalese frontier he came to know that Chautariya Guru Prasad Shah was again attempting his assassination. On his arrival on February 6, 1851 from England Jang Bahadur was accorded a grand welcome. The King and the ex-king accompanied with high dignitaries received him.²⁹ So Jang Bahadur found himself in the highest position but after some days he was shocked to hear of a conspiracy against his life led by his own brother Badri Narsingh Rana and supported by the royalties. Prince Uprendra Bikram Shah, Jang's Cousin Jaya Bahadur and some of high civil and military officers were involved in that conspiracy, General Bam Bahadur, the second brother of the Prime-minister, also was taken in confidence by the conspirators but he turned himself into an approver. All of them did not like Jang's much friendship with the British. They regarded them as the enemies of the Nepalese. The India Government was requested to keep the second Prince and the two generals in India under confinement. After much hesitation the Governor-General agreed to intern them in the famous fort of Allahabad. Rest of the conspirators were mercilessly sacked or killed. Jang Bahadur did

not like to keep the Prince and his brother and cousin in Nepal due to the fear that they might attract the attention of other high officials and an influential group might be formed against him. ³⁰ King Surendra's mind was badly disturbed due to excessive control of the minister even in his private life. So in 1851 he showed his desire to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Prince Trailokya. Jang forced him to retain the crown and to promise that he would not go about in cognito, nor without attendants, who were in fact the spies of the minister. ³¹ Thus the King's life became like that of a bird in the golden cage.

It has already been described that Jang Bahadur got the recognition of his caste equal to that of a pure Rajput. Now he thought of patching up his relation with the royal family with matrimonial relations between that family and the Rana family. Accordingly on May 8, 1854 the King's eldest daughter was married to Jagat Jung, his eldest son. ³² To show his might Jang Bahadur on this occasion arranged a grand parade at Tundhikhel. After a few day with a view to create good relationship with the family of chautariya Fateh Jang Shah, who was killed in the Kot massacre, he married his sister, who later became famous as Maiyan Maharani. The long feud between Jang Bahadur and Guru Prasad Shah came to an end. He was recalled. His brother and nephews were appointed in good posts. They became loyal and obedient servants of the minister.

May 1854 witnessed the blazing up of the presistent ill-feeling and suspicion between Nepal and Tibet. The five yearly Nepalese mission to China during its passage through Tibet got a very bad treatment. The Nepalese residents of Lhasa were suffering perpetual ill-treatment despite several protests from the government of Nepal. Jang Bahadur thought that the Tibetans should have a good lesson because the time also was favourable for action. The chinese troops from Tibet had been recalled home to face the Taiping rebellion under Hung-Siu-Tsuan. To Jang it was a golden opportunity to assert his position as the protector of the Nepalese people residing in Tibet and to have their respect and goodwill. Thus the war was declared. The declaration of war coincided with the marriage of the second princess with Jeet Jung, the second son of the minister. Jang would deem it a great source of danger to permit the marriages with the royalties to other than his own family. It was the occasion to display the Nepalese stength against the enemeis too. The marriage was held on February 24, 1855. "Ten days later the Nepalese troops marched against Tibet. "³³ The Nepalese gained victory. The Tibetan Government according to the treaty of Thapathali (1856) promised to pay ten thousand rupees annually to the Nepal Government. The Nepalese subjects in Tibet got complete freedom of trade. The Nepalese at Lhasa were granted extra

territorial rights. Thus Jang Bahadur appeared as a great hero, who erased the humiliation, inflicted on the nation in the first Nepal-Tibet war, fought during the regency of Prince Bahadur Shah. Thus the second Nepal-Tibet war made Jang Bahadur a great hero and the saviour of the national prestige. After that his ambition knew no bounds.

Jang Bahadur had already set up matrimonial relationship with the king through the marriages of his two sons with the two daughters of the king. He himself had married a sister of the ex-Prime minister Chautariya Fateh Jang Shah, who was a scion of the royal blood. By these marriages he found himself and his family superior to all other nobles in social status too. He felt that for having the reverence and obedience of the people he should be vested with a princely rank. So he played a drama on July 31, 1856. He gave up prime-ministership but not power. Though after his resignation his brother Bam Bahadur was made prime-minister he could do nothing without the consent of his elder brother. Pressure was put on the king through the high dignitaries to invest Jang Bahadur with a royal rank so that he should be regarded equal to the king by the public. Jang Bahadur threatened the king that in case he should not be conferred with the royal title of Maharaja and the sovereignty over two districts of Kaski and Lamjung. He got full civil, military and judicial power. It was also announced that prime-ministership would hence-forth be enjoyed by Jang Bahadur's family in order of seniority by age. By procuring the title of Maharaja he attached the glory of sovereign to his dictatorial rule and preserved the de-facto rulership for his family. Though he had procured the title of Maharaja by compelling the king the Lal Mohar shows that he received that title and prime-ministership for his brothers and sons because of the royal appreciation for his assassinating so many persons for putting the king on the throne, for strengthening friendly ties with the queen of England through his personal visit, his giving a defeat to the Tibetans and compelling them to pay annual subsidies to Nepal, his ruining the troops sent by the King's step-mother to kill him (Jang) and for bringing the ex-king as a captive, without any personal injury, for his showing clemency to the second brother of the king even at his attempt to kill the minister, for increasing the state income and raising the army with less expense. ³⁴ Now also he threw dust in the eyes of the people by showing that he had involved himself in criminal deeds just to save the king and the country. After procuring the Lal-Mohar Jang Bahadur tried to dictate the foreign policy. The British Government refused to recognize him in any capacity. The political secretary to the Governor-General wrote to Mr. Ramsay, the Resident at Kathmandu, "you may declare if you so like not to acknowledge any sovereign power in Nepal but one that of Maharaja (king) to whom you are accredited....." Thus when the Resident refused to recognize the

ex-prime-minister in any capacity he was told that Jung Bahadur's position was equal to that of king. "The king was already under strict surveillance. The Crown-Prince was in a state of obscurity, being never permitted to take a part in any public business, or even to appear at the Durbars to which the British Resident is invited." ³⁵ Thus Prof. Levi's view that Jang Bahadur played 'the comedy of abdication to test his associates and attendants and to recognize his force ³⁶ cannot be accepted.

After the death of Bam Bahadur Jang Bahadur again took the rein of the government as the Prime-minister. Even after procuring family rule from the royal charter and becoming himself the master of both the king and the people Jang Bahadur's ambition was still unfulfilled. He wished that a king, having his blood too should sit on the throne so that the family rule established by him could be permanent. This time he forgot that he himself had made the king a lion without teeth and clutches. The popular saying 'Kingship knows no 'Kinship' went out of his memory. Any way he got success in procuring a royal charter ³⁷ under red seal announcing the marriage of Crown Prince Trailokya with his daughter and that the son born from that marriage would sit on the throne after his father. By the same charter the people were warned not to raise voice against this marriage otherwise they would be inflicted with severe punishment according to their castes. After this announcement Jang Bahadur found himself comfortable for the time being.

To further legalise his action Jang Bahadur procured a Charter ³⁸ from the king with the grant of the right to be the final authority on judiciary, taxation, civil and military administration, dismissal appointment and confirmation of government officials for life.

The opening of the revolt against the British in India in 1857 provided a grand opportunity to Jang Bahadur to make the friendly tie with the East India company stronger. He made an offer to send six thousand Nepalese soldiers to the assistance of the India government without caring the least the opposition displayed by some of the Nepalese dignitaries who were in favour of helping the rebels. His offer was at first turned down by Lord Canning. ³⁹ The Governor General realised his mistake. On June 26 a dispatch from him expressing gratitude for the offer and requesting him to send his first contingent to attack Lucknow was received by the Nepalese Prime-Minister. Jang Bahadur himself led the troops. The Nepalese troops got success in suppressing the rebels and rescuing so many English people. Besides making the friendly ties strong with the English Jang Bahadur was expecting that after the suppression of the revolt the Tarai area lost during the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1816 would be restored by

the English. To his utter surprise a part of it was ceded. The Nepalese had already forgotten their past glory. The cessation of a tract, which now forms the district of Ranke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur, popularly known as Naya Muluk added to his glory. Many who did not want his too much pro-British policy also were not lacking. To display his love of independence he gave asylum to Begam Hazaral Mahal, the rebel-queen of Avadh and her son Prince Brajs Kadr, who were accorded royal dignity.

His investment with the insignia of the Knight Grand Cross of the Bath by Queen Victoria also strengthened his position.

He gave shelter to the family of Nana Sahib, who himself was hiding in Nepal in disguise. In such manners he tried to win both Pro-British and anti-British groups of nobles to his side. Now there was none to question the power of the Prime-minister. Peace reigned in Nepal. That was the peace of grave. Internal administration was toned up. Code of laws was framed. Roads were constructed. People at large began to consider him as the hero. Even after establishing his own rule Jang Bahadur was still feeling insecure from the side of King Surendra. At first he tried to flatter the queens. Now he tried to curb their liberty. Perhaps it was because that he knew well the parts played by the queens in Nepal in past days. His own grand uncle Bhimsen Thapa had to oust Queen Raj Rajeshwari to increase his power. After the death of Swami Maharaj Rana Bahadur Shah she had been compelled to perform 'Sati' against her wish. He knew how with the help of Queen-Regent Tripura Sundari Devi Bhimsen established his dictatorship and how due to disfavour of Queen Samarajya Lakshmi he had his downfall. The fact that the Pandes came to power through the favour of Queen Samrajya Lakshmi and they were destroyed after her death because they could not please the junior Queen Rajya Lakshmi was not concealed from him. His own maternal uncle Mathvar Sign Thapa rose to power because of Queen Rajya Lakshmi. He was killed by his own hand for the queen wanted it. He himself had captured power due to the favour of the same queen. He had to oust her because of fear that she would be his arch-enemy. So in 1863 he procured a royal charter 40 under the red seal. According to that charter the member of the Rana family and the Rajgurus could have audience with the queen at any time but with Pandit (priest) colonel or captain that they were not to enter the queen's apartments alongwith ordinary valets, that the servants of the royal household were to have the audience of the queen in presence of those persons; that whenever the priest, col. Jang Dhoj Kunwar Rana, Khajanchi (treasure) Shiva Prasad Aryal and physicians had to enter their apartments they had to accompany col. Shri Krishna Shahi or captain Bahadur Pande or captain Devi Dass Pandhay; that the priest was not allowed to remain there for more than thirty minutes except in religious worship; that Col. Jang Dhoj Kunwar

Rana, the treasurer and the physicians too were not to remain for more than a quarter of an hour. Even the water-carrier could not bring water alone, that the domestic servants were not to clean utensils along the that the valet, while cleaning the apartment had to keep a Jemadar of Farashkhana with him. In case the queens would wish to listen to the Puranas the Pandits were to be engaged by the Maharaja-prime minister according to his choice. The Pandit had to recite Puranas on the courtyard and the queens had to listen to them from their own bed rooms. The charter also warned that those who would not obey that order would be badly dealt with according to his caste. By the same charter Jang Bahadur prohibited the contact of the members of his own family and that of the Raj-gurus with the royalties. He knew that it was Ranbir Singh, brother of Bhim Shen Thapa, who had tried to gain the royal support to depose his brother. He himself had poisoned the ear of queen Rajya Lakshmi against his own maternal uncle Mathbar Sing Thapa. As a true autocrat he had no faith in anybody. By that charter the royal palace became a virtual prison. There was none to raise voice in the palace against Jang Bahadur.

In 1872 the Chinese emperor conferred on him two highest honours the in-signia of Tung Ling Ping Ma Kang Wang hsein, which meant commander-in-chief of the forces, truly valiant prince.

In such a way Jang Bahadur who established the Rana rule by 1846 consolidated it by 1856 and made it recognized by the two big neighbouring powers by 1872. He died in 1877.

It will not be out of point to write some thing about the early career of a man, who established a century-autocracy in Nepal, under which the Nepalese people were groaning, suffocating, the national talents were wasted, the national aspirations were not channelized. The people got inhuman treatment, education was neglected and there used to be influx of the Nepalese people in search of bread to foreign lands. Thus Nepal remained backward for one hundred and four years. Born in 1817 with a silver spoon in his mouth Jang Bahadur was brought up and trained in his maternal uncle's house it was there that he received his first lesson in Nepalese politics and intrigues. After the fall of the Thapas, his father Qazi Bal Narsingh also was dismissed from service and his property was confiscated. As a boy he had toured the hilly zone of the Kingdom with his father, who had been governors in several districts. He was a good rider and good hunter. Though unread he was ambitious since his boyhood. He felt that nothing is unjustified in politics. Through his mother he had known how his grand-uncle the great minister Bhimsen Thapa had cleared his ways to establish his own dictatorial rule by killing Damodar Pande, the gallant warrior and the loyal administrator and his adherents, by

ousting queen Raj Rajeshwari and by assassinating all other rivals at the assassination of Swami Maharaj Rana Bahadur Shah. He knew how by procuring a royal charter ⁴¹ Bhim Shen Thapa became all in all in Nepal though he was not born at that time. He knew the causes of his downfall. For some years Jang Bahadur was feeling difficulty even to make his both ends meet. He smoke hamp. He was a notorious gambler. So he was a pauper. He decided to test his fate by going to Terai Jungle and catching and selling elephants. He went to Varanasi to be a trained wrestler. There also due to his bad company he could not attain so much success. When his maternal-uncle got prime-ministership with full power he hoped to get a high job. But he had to enter the royal service as an ordinary body guard to the crown prince. He was frustrated. The Prince knew his designs, He was thrice asked to play with life. He was saved. Then he gained the favour of the queen-regent. As to him the politics had no Kinship and political assassination was not a crime he became the assassin of his own uncle. He made the king confess that the prime minister was killed by the king himself. ⁴² Then he joined Gagan Singh and became his trusted follower. He was appointed General by King Rajendra with three important offices-Daftarkhana, Kumarichok, Vasantapur Tahbil and Bhandarakhal under him in the early month of 1845. ⁴³ He thought he would always remain in back side unless and until general Gagan Singh was dead. He shot him dead at night when the General was in his worship chamber on September 1846. Then he appeared as a true friend of the late General. He played the part of a hero in the massacre that followed. He cleared his way to establish his own rule by putting the nearest rivals to death. He got minister-ship. Then followed another conspiracy. There also he gained success by putting a number of dignitaries to death. His actions got royal consent. He established his own rule. He consolidated it and at last achieved success in establishing the family rule of the Ranas, a curse to the people of Nepal. No doubt before the ascendancy of Jang Bahadur the condition of Nepal was far from satisfactory. Plots and counter plots were the order of the day. There was no security of life and property. Many innocent lives were lost. After Kot and Bhandarkhal massacres these sorts of things were to a great extent changed. Queen Rajya Lskshmi was very keen to establish the claim of her son Ranendra on the throne. It was Jang Bahadur, who served the throne for Surendra. He would have been a great hero if he had not gone too far. After setting the thing in order he should have been contented and devoted himself to the progress of the country. His high ambition did not permit him to do so. As a result of it the family rule of the Ranas was established, which for more than a century rendered the people of Nepal inactive in all aspects and the royalties were turned to be virtual prisoners.

FOOT NOTES

1. The Lal Mohar of Ashwin Vadi 12, 1903 V.S.
2. Lal Mohar issued on Kartik Vadi 11, 1903 V.S.
3. Lal mohar issued on Kartik Shudi 10, 1903 V.S.
4. Lal Mohar issued on Marga Vadi 5, 1903 V.S.
5. Lal Mohar issued on Marga Vadi 9, 1903 V.S.
6. Lal Mohar issued on Falgun Vadi 12, 1903 V.S.
7. Lal Mohar issued on Baisakh Vadi 1, 1904 V.S.
- 7a. Prince Upendra's letter to Jang issued in 1904 V.S.
8. Lal Mohar issued on Jestha Vadi 9, 1904 V.S.
9. P. Landon-Nepal Vol I.
10. H.A. Oldfield -Sketches from Nipal Vol I p. 276
11. Letter of Rajendra of Jang Bahadur written on Shravan Vadi 7, 1904 V.S.
12. Lal Mohar issued on Shravan Shudi 1, 1964 V.S.
13. Lal Mohar issued on Shravana Shudi 2, 1904 V.S.
14. Surendra's signed Letter without date.
15. Royal firman issued to three queens (date is obliterated).
16. Lal Mohar issued on Poush Vadi 1, 1904 V.S.
17. Lal Mohar issued on Marga Vadi 14, 1905 V.S.
18. Sylvain Levi-Le Nepal (English edition) Vol. II p. 335
19. H.A. Old-field-Sketches from Nipal Vol. I p. 380-81
20. Pudma Jang - Life of Maharaja Sir Jang Bahadur p. 401-2
21. H.A. Old field-Sketches from Nipal Vol I. p. 382
22. Pudma Jung-Life of Sir Maharaja Jang Bahadur p. 103
23. Pudma Jung- Life of Sir Maharaja Jung Bahadur p. 114
24. Sylvain Levi - Le Nepal Vol II. p. 336
25. Lal Mohar issued on Jestha Vadi 2. 1905 V.S.
26. Lal Mohar issued on ASWIN vadi 8, 1905 V.S.
27. P. Landon-Nepal Vol I p. 135
28. P. Landon-Nepal Vol I p. 138
29. H.A. Old -fielf-sketches from Nipal Vol I p. 388
30. H.A. Old-field- Sketches from Nipal Vol I. p. 394
31. H.A. Oldfield - Sketches from Nipal Vol I p. 401
32. H.A. Oldfield -Sketches from Nipal Vol I p. 408
33. P. Landon-Nepal Vol I. p. 145
34. Lal Mohar issued on Shravana Shudi 5, 1913 V.S.
35. D. Wright-History of Nepal p. 35
36. S. Levi - Le Nepal Vol I p. 31
37. Lal Mohar issued on Jesth Vadi 5, 1914 v.S.
38. Lal Mohar issued on Ashar Shudi 7, 1914 V.S.
39. P. Landon-Nepal Vol I. p. 148
40. Lal Mohar issued on Prathama Shravana Shudi 7, 1920 V.S.
41. Lal Mohar issued on Marga Shudi 13, 1969 V.S.
42. Lal Mohar issued on Jestha 1902 V.S.
43. Lal Mohar issued on Mahg Vadi 9, 1902 V.S.

खम्बा: एक अर्ध भ्रमणशील जाति

नवीन कुमार राई

यहाँ 'खम्बा' मन्नाले वि०सं० २०१६ (१६५६ इ०सं०) तिर चिनियाहरू तिब्बत आए पछि नेपाल पसी हिमाली भेकमा पूर्व देखि पश्चिमसम्म शरणार्थीको रूपमा रहने जाति-लाई भनिएको होइन । यस लेखका 'खम्बा' वा 'खम्पा' पश्चिम नेपालका कर्णाली, सेती, मेरी, र राप्ती अन्चलहरूका एक अर्ध-भ्रमणशील (Semi-Nomadic) जाति हुन् । यिनीहरूको जनसंख्या १५००-२००० सम्म हुनु पर्दछ । यी खम्बाहरू राउटे ^१ जाति जस्ता भोजनको खोजी गर्ने अवस्था (Food gathering stage) का भ्रमणशील (Nomadic) नभएर व्यापारको लागि ग्रीष्म र शीत ऋतुहरूमा वासस्थान बदल्ने जाति भएकोले अर्ध-भ्रमणशील भनिएको हो ।

नेपालका अर्ध-भ्रमणशील जातिहरूमा कुसुण्डा ^२ जातिको नाम पनि आउँदछ, तर खम्बा र कुसुण्डाहरूमा यसरी अर्ध-भ्रमणशील भएर बस्न पर्ने कारण र उद्देश्यहरू फरक छन् । खम्बा-हरू दार्चुलाका व्यांसी ^३ जाति जस्तै नून-अन्न व्यापार गर्ने तिब्बत (चीन)देखि नेपालको तराईसम्म वर्षौनी घुम्ने र ग्रीष्म र शीत वासस्थान (Summer and winter settlements) बदल्ने गर्दछन् भने कुसुण्डाहरू यस्तो व्यापार नगरी केही सेती गरेर, केही समय भोजन अन्नको खोजीमा यताउता घुम्ने गर्दछन् ।

खम्बाहरू ग्रीष्म र शीत वासस्थानमा सम्पूर्ण परिवार साथ रहन्छन् । प्रायः शीत वासस्थानमा ५ महीना (मंसिरदेखि चैत्रसम्म) र ग्रीष्म वासस्थानमा ५ महीना (जेष्ठ देखि असोज सम्म) बिताउने गर्दछन् । ग्रीष्म वासस्थानको लागि उकालो र शीत वासस्थानको लागि ओरालोमा बाँकी २ महीना (वैशाख र कार्तिक) विन्दछ । यसैले नेपालको पश्चिमी क्षेत्रमा वसाइ (Migration) अध्ययन गर्नेहरूले यी खम्बाहरूलाई मौसमी वसाइ सर्ने (Seasonal migrants) वा (Seasonals) भनेका छन् । ^४

खम्बाहरूलाई आफ्नो इतिहास थाहा छैन । उनीहरू कहिले, कहाँबाट आए भन्ने कुरा अरुलाई बताउन पनि मान्दैनन् । वास्तवमा यी खम्बाहरू हुम्ला तथा मुगु वरिपरिका मोटे ^५ जाति तिब्बत तिरबाट आई बस्ती वसाले पछि तिब्बत बाटै अर्को ठूलो आइ अर्ध-भ्रमणशील भएर बसेका हुन् भन्ने अनुमान लगाइन्छ । अनुहार, भाषा, धर्म, वेषभूषा पेशा र भ्रमण-शील प्रवृत्ति हेर्दा यो अनुमान भिल्ल पनि आउँछ । आजकल पनि चीनको तिब्बती भागमा 'खोबा' (व्यापार र पशुपालनको पेशा गर्ने गृहस्थी जाति), 'खम्बा' (चीनियाहरू तिब्बत

आउन अधि राजकाल चलाउने जाति), 'पुराड०वा' (पुराड० देश, 'ताक्लाकोट वरिपरि खेती र केही व्यापार गर्ने जाति) आदि छन् । यी अर्ध-भ्रमणशील खम्बा र तिब्बतका खम्बा-हरूको बीच ऐतिहासिक सम्बन्ध अवश्यै हुनु पर्दछ । यी खम्बाहरू कुनै समयको राजनैतिक उथल पुथल वा धार्मिक फगडामा तिब्बत छाडी नेपाल पसेका हुन सक्छन् । अहिले पनि चीनियाहरू तिब्बत आए पछि भागेर नेपाल पसेका खम्बा, क्वा, पुराड०वा आदि जातिहरू शरणार्थीको रूपमा रहेका हामी देख्दछौं । आउने पुस्ताहरूमा यी शरणार्थीहरू स्थायी रूपले बसोबास गरी तिब्बतबाट नेपाल आएको कुरा विसन खोजे हामीलाई आश्चर्य मान्नु पर्ने छैन ।

खम्बाहरू नेपालमा मात्र होइन, भारतका हिमाचल र पंजाब प्रान्तहरूतिर पनि पाइन्छन् । लेखकको किनौर (हिमाचल प्रदेशको उत्तर पूर्वमा भारत-चीन सीमानामा पर्ने एउटा जिल्ला) को काल्पा, पूह र निवार क्षेत्रहरूको १९७१ सितम्बर-नोभेम्बरको मौक्तिक मानव शास्त्रीय अध्ययन भ्रमणमा केही खम्पाहरूसँग भेट भएको थियो । चिनियाहरू तिब्बत आएपछि यिनीहरूको पश्चिमी तिब्बत जान बन्द भएको कुरा सुन्ने मौका मिलेको थियो । चीनियाहरूको आगमन अधि किनौर भ्रमण गर्ने लेखकहरूले त्यहाँका खम्पाहरूबारे लेखेका छन् ।

राहुल सांकृत्यायन (१९४८), जसले १९२६ सालमा तिब्बत पनि भ्रमण गरेका थिए, 'किन्नर देश' मा खम्पा बारे यसरी लेख्छन् "खम् तिब्बतमा चीनको सिमानामा पर्ने एक प्रदेश हो । शायद यिनको (खम्पाको) पूर्वजहरू मध्ये कोही कुनै समयमा खम्देसि घुम फीर गर्ने यता आएका हुन सक्छन् तर अब यिनीहरू न भाषामा खम्का जस्ता छन्, न वेषभूषामै । शायद यसैले यिनीहरूलाई खालि खम्पा (खम् वाला) नभनी 'ग्यगर (भारत) खम्पा' भनिन्छ । यिनीहरूको काम सानो तिनो सौदा किनेर यतादेखि उता बेच्नु हो । जाडोमा यिनीहरू मंडी, शिमला, हरिद्वार, दिल्ली सम्म पुग्दछन् अनि गर्मीमा सतलज र गंगा घांटीहरू देखि पश्चिमी तिब्बतसम्म । यिनीहरू तिब्बती प्रजा हुन् वा भारतीय, यसको जवाफ पनि यिनीहरू आफै ठीकसँग दिन सक्दैनन् ६

आजकल खम्बाहरू आफूलाई 'मतुवाली दोत्री' पनि भन्ने गर्दछन् । त्यस भेकका खम्बाहरू मात्र होइन, व्यांसी, मोटे आदि जातिहरू पनि आफूलाई 'मतुवाली दोत्री' भन्न थालेका छन् । औसत मोटे, खम्बा र व्यांसीहरू आर्थिक दृष्टिकोणले अरू हिन्दू जातिको तुलनामा वढी सम्पन्न भए पनि अशिष्टाचार अपठित भएर अल्पसंख्यक हिन्दूहरूबाट हेय दृष्टिले हेरिन्छन् । यसर्थ आफ्नो जातीय नाम, वेषभूषा, भाषा आदि बदल्ने र नयाँ तथा कृत्रिम इतिहास बनाउने प्रवृत्ति यी जातिहरूमा देखिएको हो । करण 'दरा' (पानी ढलोको

आधारमा कुटुम्बाको एउटा भौगोलिक-प्रशासनिक क्षेत्र) का एक खालका मोटेहरू आफ्नो पिता पुर्खा वारकोटे बाडा (जुम्ला) का वारकोटे ठकुरी हुन् भन्ने दावी गरी अरू मोटेहरू भन्दा आफ्नो स्थान उच्च बनाउँछन् । यसरी आफ्नो इतिहास, जातीय नाम, थर, धर्म, भाषा आदि बदल्ने प्रवृत्ति अरू जातिहरूमा पनि नपाइएको होइन । कुमाऊँ, गढवाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) र पश्चिम नेपालका 'खस' जातिलाई सन् १३-१४ घाँ शताब्दीतिर परेको हिन्दू असर पनि एउटा उदाहरण हो । ^६ तराईका 'कोच' जाति पनि १६- १७ शताब्दीतिर धर्मको आइमा 'हिन्दू राजवंशी', 'मुसलमान राजवंशी', र 'पानी वा' बाबुकोच' भएको पनि हामीलाई थाहा भएकै हो । ^७ केही मगरहरूले आफै आफूलाई 'ठकुरी' भन्ने गरेका सुनिन्छ । जुम्लामा खेती गरी स्थायी बसोबास गर्ने अर्को एक व्यांसी जाति (जसले आफ्नो भाषा, धर्म र संस्कार बिर्सिसके) अहिले आफूलाई 'व्यांसी' भनेका सम्म सुन्न सक्दैनन् । विगत १०-१२ वर्षा भित्रको कुरा हो, थाकखोलाका थकालीहरूले आफूलाई तिला र सिंजा खाल्डो (जुम्ला) का ठकुरीका सन्तान मनी आफ्नो तिब्बमेली भाषा (Tibeto-Burman Language) लाई नेपाली र आफ्नो परम्परागत बौद्ध धर्मलाई हिन्दू बनाउन अभियान चलाए । ^८

यी उदाहरणहरूले आदिकालमा नेपालको मध्य पहाडी क्षेत्र, कञ्चन र तराईमा बसोबास गर्ने तान्त्रिक मत वा बौद्ध-धर्मावलम्बी जातिहरू माथि हिन्दू धर्मको प्रचार प्रसारको प्रक्रिया संक्षोभमा संफाउदछ ।

सम्बा जाति:

अर्ध-भ्रमणशील सम्बा जातिलाई ग्रीष्म र शीत वासस्थान, भ्रमण क्षेत्र, स्थायी बसो-वास क्रम, पेशा, व्यापार, भाषा, वेशभूषा आदिको आधारमा निम्न भागमा बाँड्न सकिन्छ :-

- १ . दहंगाली सम्बा
- २ . डाडाखेत सम्बा
- ३ . मन्दरा सम्बा
- ४ . हिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बा

अब हामी प्रत्येक खालका सम्बाहरूको संक्षिप्तमा बेग्लै बेग्लै वर्णन गर्ने हौं ।

दहंगाली सम्बा :- यिनीहरू वैशाखतिर साँपे (जुन अक्षाम, सेती अन्वलको कुन्ना खोला

मित्र पर्वह) छोडी ठाडे हुंगा, यारी (हुम्ला-ताक्लाकोट बीच पर्ने नेपाल चीन सिमानाको नेपाल तर्फको अन्तिम गाउँ) आई बस्दछन् । असोज लाग्ने बित्तिकै यस इलाकामा जाडो हुन थाल्दछ र दड०गाली सम्बाहरू पनि ठाडे हुंगा, यारी (जस्को उचाइ करीब १६५०० फीट छ) छोडी साँपेको लागि ओरालो लाग्दछन् । यसरी यिनीहरू ५ महीना ठाडे हुंगा यारीमा, ५ महीना साँपे अक्षाममा र २ महीना उकालो - ओरालोमा बिताउछन् । यसैले स्थानीय मानिसहरू दड०गाली सम्बाहरूको बारे एउटा उखान पनि गर्दछन्- 'बर्खा ठाडे हुंगा, हिउँद साँपे अक्षाम' । दड०गाली सम्बाहरूलाई अक्षाम साँपेमा बस्ने भएकोले 'साँपे सम्बा' पनि भनिएको सुनिन्छ ।

दड०गाली सम्बाहरू ग्रीष्म र शीत वासस्थान दुवैमा पाल^{१०} हाली बस्ने गर्दछन् । यिनीहरूको घर हुंदैन । पाल हुंगाको केही अग्लो पर्खाल वा फेरुवा^{११}को घेरा लगाई कम हावा झिर्ने बनाइन्छ । यस्तो पाल राख्ने ठाउँलाई तिब्बती भाषावाटे 'ले' अथवा 'लाई' भनिन्छ । खच्चर, जोपा^{१२} तोल्बा^{१३}, घोडा, मेडा, बाख्रा आदिमा पाल, माँडा कुँडा र अरु सरसामान बोकाई ग्रीष्म र शीत वासस्थानको लागि वंसाई सरी हिड्ने गर्दछन् ।

यिनीहरू गाई, तोल्बिनी (तोल्बाको स्त्रीलिङ्ग) आदि पनि संगसंगै लिएर हिड्ने गर्दछन् । दड०गाली सम्बाहरूको शीत वासस्थान मध्य पहाडी क्षेत्रमा पर्ने भएकोले जोपा, तोल्बा, तोल्बिनी जस्ता उत्तरी हिमाली भेकका पाल्नु जन्तुहरू शीत वासस्थानसम्म पुग्न सक्दछन् । खच्चर पाल्ने पनि सम्बाहरूमा यिनै हुन् । दड०गाली सम्बाहरूसँग क्याड०लु (तिब्बती वा कोवा मेडा, जसको ऊन एकदमै राम्रो हुन्छ), रोड०लु (हुम्ली-जुम्ली मेडा, जसको ऊन केही राम्रो हुन्छ) र केही स्याक्वा (क्ययाड०लु र रोड०लुको संकर) बाख्रा च्याड०ग्रा आदि छन् । यिनीहरू यी सबै पाल्नु जन्तुहरू साथैमा लिएर हिड्छन् तर आजकल कसै कसैले गाई र घोडालाई ठाडे हुंगा, यारी नलगी बाटोमा पर्ने शंखा 'लगना' (भन्ज्याङ्ग) मा आफ्नो परिवारको कुनै सदस्य वा गाँउले इष्टमित्रसंग छाड्ने पनि गर्दछन् ।

व्यापार गर्दा यी दड०गाली सम्बाहरू ताक्लाकोट (तिब्बत), हुम्ला, बफाड०, बाजुरा, अक्षाम, डोटी, कैलाली र बर्दिया घुम्दछन् । यिनीहरूको मुख्य व्यापार गर्ने केन्द्रहरू तिब्बतमा ताक्लाकोट (यारी देखि मेडा संग २ दिनको बाटो) र तराईमा राजापुर (जसलाई स्थानीय मानिसहरू 'गोलागाट' भन्दछन्) र नेपालगंज हुन् ।

केही दड०गाली सम्बा परिवारहरू गुम्बागाउँ (कुंवारी खोला), मुचु, याड०सी (यारी) मा घर बनाइ स्थायी रूपले बसोवास गर्न खोजेको पनि देखिन्छ । दड०गाली सम्बाहरूले स्थायी

६८ आइ.एन.ए.एस जर्नल

बसोवासको लागि रिडीकोट वा गुम्बा गाउँ (कुंवारी खोला मित्र, शंखा लगनानिर) माग गरी स्थानीय जिल्ला पन्चायत र प्रमुख जिल्ला अधिकारी कार्यालयहरूमा दर्तास्त दिएको पनि सुनिन्छ ।

डाडाखेत सम्बा:- डाडाखेत सम्बाहरू चैततिर सुर्खेतबाट उकालो लागि बैशाखको अन्ततिर डाडा खेत (करण दरा, मुगु) पुग्दछन् । डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूको यो ग्रीष्म वासस्थानमा सानो ढुंगाको गारा र थाडा (Flat roof) भएका घर छन् भने यिनीहरू सुर्खेतमा दड०गाली सम्बा भन्ने पाल नै हाली बस्दछन् । यिनीहरू आफू साथ घोडा, मुगु भेडा, बाख्रा, स्याक्टा^{१४} र गाई आदि लिएर हिड्ने गर्दछन् ।

यिनीहरूको शीत वासस्थान सुर्खेत - कक्षाड दूनमा पर्ने भएकोले जोपा, जुमा, तोल्वा, तोल्बिनी जस्ता हिमाली भेकका पाल्छु जन्तुहरू सुर्खेतसम्म पु-याउन सक्दैनन् । यसैले गाउँमै केही मानिसहरू (जस्ताई लोरा भनिन्छ) राखिन्छन् । लोराले घर, गाईबस्तु, वाली नाली आदिको हेरचाह गर्नु पर्दछ र उसले पारिश्रमिकको रूपमा गाउँका अरू मानिसहरूबाट (जग्गा जमिन र गाई बस्तुको आधारमा) अन्न पाउने गर्दछ ।

व्यपारको सिलसिलामा यी सम्बाहरू तिब्बत (चेष्टु, पोड०जू), मुगु, हुम्ला, जुम्ला, तिब्बतीकोट, दैलेख, सुर्खेत, बाँके, बर्दिया घुम्ने गर्दछन् । यिनीहरूको मुख्य व्यपार केन्द्र पोड०जू (मुगु गाउँदेखि मेडासंग ६ दिनको बाटो) र तराईमा नेपालगंज (सुर्खेतदेखि मेडासंग ४ दिनको बाटो) हुन् । कोही कोही तराईको राजापुर पनि जाने गरेको सुनिन्छ ।

डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूको ग्रीष्म वासस्थान, डाडाखेतमा यिनीहरूले केही जमीन आवाद गरेका छन् । यी जमीनको लागि यिनीहरू 'सेर्मा' (जमीन दर्ता नगराइ भोग चलन गर्दा सरकारलाई तिर्ने पर्ने महशुल) तिर्ने गर्दछन् । यस जमीनमा यिनीहरू वर्षे बाली (कोदो, फापर-तीते मीठे, कागुनो, मार्से, आलु, मूला, कोइरा) र हिउँदमा जौ, गहुँ, उवा उब्जाउछन् । केही डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूले सुर्खेतमा खेत पनि लिएका छन् । उनीहरू आफ्नो जमिन सुर्खेतका थारू जातिलाई अधिया वा कुतमा कमाउन दिन्छन् ।

यी सम्बाहरूको शीत वासस्थान 'सुर्खेत' बारे पनि केही लेख्नु पर्दछ । २०२२ साल भन्दा अघि सुर्खेतलाई 'कालापानी' भनिन्थ्यो । स्थानीय मानिसहरू (जो आजकल जुम्ला, दुल्लु-दैलेख, जाजरकोट, सल्यान आदि ठाउँबाट आई सुर्खेतमा स्थायी रूपले बसेका छन्) पनि खाल्डोमा बस्न डराई सुर्खेत उत्तरतिरको डाडा जस्तै गोठीकाडा, राम्री काडा, बयल काडा, कटुका, जारबुट्टा आदि तिर बस्थे । डाडा खेत सम्बाहरू पनि कहिले खाल्डोमा फर्दैनथे ।

यिनी माथिका गाउँहरू वा दुल्लुदैलेखतिर यिनीहरू आफ्नो शीत वासस्थान बनाउथे । यिनीहरू 'शीत' र 'घाम' (औल) देखि असाध्य डराउँछन् । २०२३ सालमा औलो उन्मुलन लाग्नु गरिएपछि सम्बा तथा स्थानीय मानिसहरू खाल्डोमा फरी बसोवास गर्न थालेका हुन् । अर्का सुखैत खाल्डोमा पूष माघतिर एउटा 'लेउ' भन्ने फार को टुसा पलाउँछ । यो फारको टुसा खाएमा गाईबस्तु, मेडा बाब्रा, (घोडा बाहेक) लाई पखाला लागेर, पेटमा कीरा परेर, घाटी सुनिएर मर्दछन् भन्ने मनाइ छ । यस कारण अफै पनि मानिसहरू गाईबस्तुलाई सुखैत वरिपरिको पहाड मै चराउँछन् । सम्बाहरू खाली घोडा चराउन र पाल हाली बस्न मात्र सुखैतमा मर्दछन् । अहिले सुखैतमा हिउँदे बाली (गहुँ, जौ) रोप्ने अभियान चल्दैछ । यसको असर अवश्य यी सम्बा र अरूमा पर्नेछ ।

मन्दरा सम्बा :- मन्दरा सम्बाहरू मन्दरा (चौधवीस दरा, तिब्रीकोट) बस्ने सम्बाहरू हुन् । यिनीहरूको प्रायः सबै कुरा डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूसँग मिल्दछ । यिनीहरू पनि डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूसँग सँगै चैततिर सुखैतबाट वाटो लागी बैशाखको अन्ततिर मन्दरा (ग्रीष्म वासस्थान) आइपुग्छन् अनि ५ महिना जति बिताई अशोजतिर फेरि सुखैत (शीत वासस्थान) मर्दछन् । धेरैजसो मन्दरा सम्बाहरूको पनि ग्रीष्म वासस्थानमा केही सा-साना घर छन् तर कसैले भनें दहंगाली सम्बा जस्तै पाल राखी बस्ने गर्दछन् । सुखैतमा यिनीहरू सबै पाल मै बस्दछन् ।

मन्दरा सम्बाहरू डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूले जस्तो ग्रीष्म वासस्थानमा 'लोरा' कोड्दैनन् । यसैले उनीहरू जोपा, जुमा, तोल्बा, तोल्बिनी आदिलाई नजीकै चौध बीसदराका मतुवाली दात्री गाउँतिर कोड्ने गर्दछन् । पछि सम्बाहरू सुखैतबाट फर्केर आएपछि यी मतुवाली दात्रीहरूलाई नून वा पैसाको रूपमा पारिश्रमिक चुकाउने गर्दछन् । यिनीहरू खाली मेडा, बाब्रा, घोडा र केही गाई साथ लिई हिँड्दछन् । अशोज निकल्दै हिउँदे बाली (गहुँ, उवा र जौ) करी ओरालो लाग्दछन् । मंसिर पौषतिर हिउँ पर्दछ र हिउँले जमीननै ढाकी दिन्छ । बाहिरबाट गाई बस्तु आई अन्न बाली बिगान सक्दैनन् । फाल्गुन जादो हिउँ पग्लन्छ र हिउँदे बाली बढ्न थाल्दछ । बैशाखमा यी सम्बाहरू बाली काट्न आई पुग्छन् । सुखैतमा बस्दा मन्दरा गाउँ भएर आउने कुनै पनि मानिसलाई गाँउ, अन्न बालीको खबर सोध्न भनें बिर्सदैनन् ।

डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूको जस्तै मन्दरा सम्बाहरूको पनि सुखैतमा खेत छ (करीब १२ डाडा खेत र मन्दरा सम्बा परिवारहरूले सुखैतमा खेत किनेका छन्) । यसलाई थारूजाति नै अधियामा कमाउँछन् । पहाडको केही जमीनलाई सिर्ता तिर्दछन् । डाडाखेत सम्बा जस्तै यिनीहरू पनि

२०२३ सालदेखि मात्र सुर्खेत खाल्डोमा पाल हाल्न र घोडा पाल्न फर्न थालेका हुन् ।

आजकल १०।१२ घर मन्दरा र डाडाखेत सम्बाहरू आफ्नो ग्रीष्म वासस्थान क्रमशः मन्दरा र डाडाखेत नफर्कने पनि गर्दछन् । ग्रीष्म कालका ५ महिना सुर्खेत खाल्डो वरिपरिका गोठी-काडा, राम्री-काडा, कटुका, जार बुट्टा आदिमा बिताउछन् ।

यी मन्दरा र डाडाखेत सम्बाहरू नून, ऊन, चामल र अरू अन्नको व्यापार देखि बाहेक पहाडवाट अत्तिस, कटुको, हात्ते जडी जस्ता जडीबुटी पनि बटुली वा खरीद गरी नेपालगंज-राजापुर लगी बेच्दछन् । यी सम्बाहरू घोडा-पालनमा पनि निकै नामीछन् ।

डिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बा :- डिल्लीकोट - हुरीकोटका ६।७ गाउँ (जस्तै डिल्लीकोट, चौतारा, चौरीकोट, हुरीकोट, कै गाउँ, वालुङचौर, थांके - ताराकोट, रामीडाडा-बारीकोट) का सम्बाहरूलाई यस अन्तर्गत लिइएको छ । आजकल यी सम्बाहरू दंगाली, डाडाखेत र मन्दरा सम्बाहरू जस्ता अर्ध-भ्रमणशील नभई स्थायी रूपले बसोवास गरी सकेका छन् । केही समय पहिले सम्म यिनीहरू पनि अर्ध-भ्रमणशील थिए भन्ने भनाई छ । यिनीहरूमध्ये कोही शीतकालका ६ महिना गुम्राघाट (जाजरकोट, मेरी नदीको शीर), डोर चौर (बाडोलुङ) तिर बिताउथे भन्ने ग्रीष्मका ६ महिना डिल्लीकोट, हुरीकोट, चौरीकोट, ताराकोट, बारीकोट आदिमा बिताउथे ।

यिनीहरूमध्ये कोही जिम्मावाल पनि थिए । अहिले धेरै जसोले जग्गा जमीन दर्ता गराई सरकारलाई तिरो तिर्ने गर्दछन् । अरू जातिहरू जस्तै खेतीवाट फुर्सद पाएको बेला व्यापार गर्न भनेर छाड्दैनन् । व्यापार गर्दा यी सम्बाहरू मुगु, डोल्पो, तित्रीकोट, जाजरकोट, ल्हुम, रोल्पा र सल्यान घुम्ने गर्दछन् । डिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बाहरूका ४।५ पुस्ता पहिलाका पूर्वजहरू तिब्बतवाट मुस्ताङ आएको कुरा बताउछन् । मुस्ताङ राजाले यिनीहरूलाई नेपाली नागरिकता प्रदान गरेपछि त्यहाँबाट यस क्षेत्रमा आएका रहेछन् । केही समय पहिले सम्म यी सम्बाहरू मुस्ताङ राजालाई कर (Tribute) को रूपमा घरको रु १।- तिर्ने पनि गर्दथे । उनीहरूसँग मुस्ताङ राजावाट दिइएको ताम्रपत्र पनि भएको कुरा सुनिएको छ । यिनीहरू मुकुल र सोमगाडा भएर मुस्ताङ जाने गर्दथे । केही पुस्ता पहिलेसम्म यिनीहरूको नाम मोटे जातिहरूको जस्तै थियो तर अब नाम मतुवाली दात्रीहरूको जस्तै राखिन थालिएको छ । यिनीहरू जोपा, जुमा, तोल्वा, तोल्वनी पाल्दछन् कसै कसैले उचाँड तिर चौरी पालेको देखिन्छ ।

सामाजिक अवस्था :-

धर्म:- सम्बाहरू बौद्धधर्मावलम्बी जाति हुन् । प्रमणशील भएर पनि यिनीहरूले आफ्नो पुर्खादेखि मानिआएको धर्म अफै बचाएको देखिन्छ । मन्दरा र डाडासेत सम्बाहरूको मन्दरा र डाडासेत गाउँहरूमा सानासाना गुम्पा (गुम्बा) पनि छन् । यस बाहेक घर घरमा मूर्ति, टोका (चित्र) आदि राखी पूजा गर्दछन् । 'लाकाडो' (बौद्ध धर्म सम्बन्धी पुस्तक राख्ने घर) पनि भएको देखिएको छ । सुर्खेत, साँपेतिर बस्दा पाल्पे पनि सानो सानो गुम्बा सजाएर राख्दछन् । यस बाहेक यी सम्बाहरू नजीकको मोटे गाउँहरूको गुम्बाहरूमा (जस्तै दह०गाली सम्बाहरू हुम्लाका केर्मी, मुचु, तुम्कोट, याद०सी गुम्बाहरूमा र डाडासेत र मन्दरा सम्बाहरू करण र मुगु दराका गुम्बाहरूमा) तीर्थ गर्न, बत्ती बाल्न जाने गर्दछन् । समय समयमा यी सम्बाहरू आफ्ना आफ्ना ग्रीष्म र शीत वासस्थानमा 'टुल्यु' (अवतारी लामा), अरू ठूला ठूला गुम्बाहरूका लामालाई निम्त्याइ ज्ञान (पूजा-यज्ञ) गर्ने गर्दछन् । ढिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बाहरू पनि पहिला तिब्बततिरबाट लामा फिर्काई ज्ञान गराउथे । गाउँ गाउँमा पनि १।२ लामाहरू भएको सुनिएको छ ।

भाषा :- दह०गाली, डाडासेत, मन्दरा, ढिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बाहरू तिब्बती भाषा बोल्दछन् । तिब्बतको विभिन्न भागमा एउटै वा बेग्ला बेग्लै जातिहरूले फरक फरक तिब्बती भाषा बोलेका यी सम्बाहरू पनि एक अर्कासँग केही नभिल्ले भाषा बोल्दछन् । यसरी नभिल्लुको मुख्य कारणहरू मध्ये, भौगोलिक पृथक्ता, विभिन्न ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि, सम्पर्कमा आउने विभिन्न जातिहरूको प्रभाव आदि हुन् । दह०गाली सम्बाहरूको बढी आवत जावत र संगत 'सात थपले' (उत्तर पश्चिमी हुम्ला क्षेत्रमा बस्ने एक सालका मोटे जाति) संग भएकोले भाषा पनि उनीहरूसँगै मिल्दछ । मन्दरा र डाडासेत सम्बाहरू करण (करण दराका मोटे जाति) जस्तो भाषा बोल्दछन् । यी व्यापारी सम्बाहरू नेपाली पनि राम्ररी बोल्न जान्दछन् ।

वेषभूषा :- सम्बा लोग्ने मानिसहरू ग्रीष्म वासस्थानमा बस्दा उत्तरी हिमाली मेकका मोटे जाति जस्तै मेढाको ऊनबाट बनाइएको बख्खु लगाएको देखिए पनि मध्य पहाडी क्षेत्रका अरू जाति सरह नै दौरा, सुर्खाल, कमिज, कोट, टोपी आदि लगाउने गर्दछन् । मन्दरा र डाडासेत सम्बा आइमाइहरू लगाफाटामा करण र मुगु दराका मोटे आइमाइहरूसँग छुट्टिटुट्टै नभने दह०गाली सम्बा आइमाइहरू बढी अहामे आइमाई जस्तै सारी चोलो लगाएको देखिन्छ ।

विवाह :- भौगोलिक दूरीको कारणले यी सम्बाहरू एक अर्कासँग वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध चाहेर पनि राख्न सकेका छैनन् । माथिका ४ विभिन्न खालका सम्बाहरूलाई तीन बेग्ला बेग्लै अन्तर वैवाहिक एकाई (Endogamous unit) हरूमा बाँड्न सकिन्छ । दड०गाली, मन्दरा-डाडाखेत र ढिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बाहरू । केही दड०गाली-मन्दरा र दड०गाली-डाडा खेत सम्बाहरूमा पनि वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध भएको थाहा भएको छ । तर ढिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बा र अरू सम्बाहरूमा भनें विवाह सम्बन्ध रहेको एउटा पनि उदाहरण पाइएन । बरू ढिल्लीकोट-हुरीकोट सम्बा र मतुवाली दात्रीहरूको बीच वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध र मात मान्सा चलन थालेको देखिन्छ । दड०गाली सम्बाहरू र मुचु - तुम्कोटका सात थपलेहरूसँग विवाह भएको भेटिएको छ । यस वाहेक अरू बास वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध (Exogamous marriage Relation) राखिएको थाहा छैन ।

शारीरिक अवस्था :-

सामाजिक संस्कार, संस्कृति, भाषा, धर्म आदि लुकाउन पनि सकिन्छ, बदल्न पनि सकिन्छ । अरू जाति, धर्म आदिको पेश प्रभावमा परेर बदल्न नचाहँदा पनि बदल्नु पर्ने स्थिति आउँछ । यस्तो समयमा जाति र ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमिको तथ्यलाई कसो लगाउन शारीरिक अवस्थाको अध्ययन ठूलो सहयोगीको रूपमा उभिन्छ । शारीरिक अवस्था अरू जाति, धर्म आदिको पेश प्रभावले फरक हुन सक्दैन । बरू जैविक, भौगोलिक आदि वातावरणमा भनें बदल्न सक्छ । यसभन्दा पनि शारीरिक अवस्थामा पर्ने अर्को डरलाग्दो प्रभाव वैवाहिक सम्बन्धको प्रकार आदि हो । यसर्थ शारीरिक अवस्थाको अध्ययन गर्नुभन्दा पहिले विवाह पद्धतिको अध्ययन अनिवार्य हुन आउँछ ।

हामीले माथि वर्णन गरे जस्तै सम्बाहरू अधिकतम अन्तर वैवाहिक समूह हुन् । यसर्थ यस जातिमा अरू जातिहरूको प्रजातीय गुण (Strain) लिइएको र यस जातिले अरू जातिलाई आफ्नो प्रजातीय गुण दिएको देखिदैन । अब यस जातिमा भएका वंशात्मक गुणहरू (Hereditary Traits) आफ्नै पिता पुर्खाबाट लिइएका हुन् भनी मान्नु पर्दछ । यसर्थ अहिले उनीहरूमा पाइने शारीरिक अवस्थाहरूको आधारमा सम्बाहरूलाई जातीय वर्गिकरण गरिनु पर्दछ :-

कालो, खम्बो केश, गहुँ गोरो बर्ण, सानो तर केही सैरो आँखा, आँखाको माथिल्लो ढक्तीमा मंगोलोयड फोल्ड (Mongoloid Fold) भएको, होचो नाक, दाढी, जुगा र शरीरको रँग कम भएको, ठिक्कैको कद आदि नै सम्बाहरूको शारीरिक बनावटका संक्षिप्त

वर्णन हुन् । यसर्थ सम्बाहरूलाई शारीरिक अवस्थाको आधारमा वर्गिकरण गर्नु पर्दा मंगोल-स्कन्ध (Mongoloid Stock) का तिब्बती - मंगोल (Tibeto-Mongoloid) शाखामा राख्न पर्ने देखिन्छ । तर तिब्बती मंगोल शाखामा आउने अरू तिब्बत र हुम्ला-मगुका मोटे जातिहरू मन्दा सम्बाहरू केही फरक नै देखिन्छन् । यसरी शारीरिक बनावटमा समानता नहुनुमा विभिन्न कारण हुन सक्छन् , जस्तै :- सम्बा र मोटे जातिमा वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध नहुँदा पृथक्करण (Isolation) हुनु, विभिन्न जैविक (Biological) वा भौगोलिक (Geographical) पर्यावरण (Environment) मा पर्नु, विभिन्न खालका सम्बाहरूमा वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध नभएर एक अर्का अन्तरवैवाहिक एकाइको जनसंख्या सानो भएर अन्तः प्रजनन वा अन्तर्धान सम्बन्ध (Inbreeding) कायम हुनु, वर्णसुत्र (Chromosome) वा वाहकाणु (Gene) मा आकस्मिक परिवर्तन (Mutation) हुनु, प्राकृतिक चुनाव (Natural selection) हुनु आदि हुन् । यसरी सम्बाहरूमा अरू मोटे जातिको अपेक्षा एउटा बेग्लै प्रकारको सूक्ष्म विकास (Micro-evolution) भएको फलस्वरूप अरू मोटे जातिभन्दा शारीरिक अवस्थामा केही बेग्लै देखिन आए ।

आर्थिक अवस्था

व्यपार, खेती, घरेलु उद्योग जस्ता मुख्य पेशालाई सम्बाहरूको आर्थिक अवस्थाको आधार मान्नु पर्दछ । माथि भनिए फर् सम्बाहरूको मुख्य पेशा व्यपार हो । यसैले सम्बाहरूको स्थान व्यपारको द्रोत्रमा हुम्ला-जुम्लाका जातिहरूमा प्रथम र सुदूर पश्चिमान्चलका जातिहरूको तुलनामा द्वितीय हुन आउछ ।

सम्बाहरूमा पनि दड०गाली सम्बाहरू सबैभन्दा ठूला व्यपारी हुन् । दड०गाली सम्बाहरू मेडा, बाभ्रामा 'लुकाल' (जाउली) र घोडा, खच्चर, जोपामा "ख्याड०" (ठूलो जाउली) बोकाई अन्न (चामल, डग्रेल - आधा चामल आधा धान, गहुँ, उवा, मकै आदि) लिएर बैशाखको अन्ततिर साँपेबाट यारी आउँछन् । यस अन्नलाई यारी मै वा यारीमा नून नपाए ताक्लाकोट पुगी मोटेहरूसँग नून साट्दछन् । यिनीहरू नून लिएर अक्लाम नै पुगी हाता हाती वा उधारो अन्नमा लगाई फेरि साँपेबाट अरू अन्न लिएर असारमा फेरि यारी आउँछन् । यारीमा बसेपछि यारी ताक्लाकोट धेरै पल्ट ओहोर दोहोर गरी अन्नबाट नून साटी यारीमा थुपाउँछन् । यसै बेला ऊन, मेडा, च्याड०ग्रा, जोपा आदिको पनि व्यपार गर्दछन् । यसरी असारदेखि असोजसम्म यारी - ताक्लाकोट यात्रापछि कार्तिक शुक्लै यिनीहरूको यारी-साँपेको यात्रा शुरू हुन्छ । यस नूनलाई यारी देखि साँपेबीचमा पर्ने मोटे, ठकुरी, थर द्रोत्री गाउँहरूमा साटी अन्नलाई साँपेमा थुपाउँछन् । यसै अन्नलाई खानमा पनि प्रयोग गर्दछन् । अनि

यी सम्बाहरू मंसिरदेखि फाल्गुन सम्ममा बढीमा २ पल्ट सांघे-राजापुर वा सांघे-नेपालगंजको व्यापार यात्रा गरी देशी (भारतीय) नून पैसामा किनी ल्याई फेरि बाजुरा, तिर डोटीको भाग र अक्लाम, (सबैभन्दा उत्तरमा रासकोट दरासम्म देशी नून पुग्दछ) र अन्नसंग साट्दछन् । यस अन्नलाई फेरि आउंदो बैशाख-जेष्ठदेखि ताकलाकोटको व्यापार यात्रामा लैजान्छन् ।

मन्दरा र डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूको व्यापार दौत्र दह०गाली सम्बाहरूको भन्दा बेग्लै भए जस्तै व्यापार गर्ने समय र तरिका पनि केही फरक छन् । बैशाखतिर सुर्खेतबाट अन्न (विशेष चामल) मेडा, बाब्रा, घोडामा बोकाई यिनीहरू आफ्नो आफ्नो ग्रीष्म बासस्थानमा पुग्दछन् । केही समय खेती पातीमा बिताई आफ्नो घरको गहुं, जौ, उवा, र सुर्खेतबाट ल्याएको चामल लिई यी सम्बाहरू श्रावणातिर मुगु उत्तर पोड०जू ^{१५} (तिब्बत) मा मोटे नून र केही ऊन साट्न पुग्दछन् । यी सम्बाहरू प्रायः सालको एकपल्ट मात्र पोड०जू जाने गर्दछन् । बरु मुगु र करण दराका मोटेहरूसंग अरु अन्नमा नून साट्दछन् । यसरी जम्मा गरेको नून लिएर यिनीहरू जुम्ला, तिब्रीकोटतिर अन्नसंग साटी, केही मोटे नून लिएर सुर्खेतलाई ओराली लाग्दछन् । बाटोमा पर्ने जुम्ला, दुल्लु दैलेखका गाउँहरूमा मोटे नून (स्थानीय मानिसहरू देशी नून भन्दा मोटे नून मन पराउँदछन्) अन्नसंग साटी अन्न लिएर सुर्खेत पुग्दछन् ।

सुर्खेतमा बस्दा मंसिर र पूषमा एक पल्ट देशी नून लिन मेडा, बाब्रा (दुवैलाई समुहमा 'पाठा' भनिन्छ) लिएर नेपालगंज जान्छन् । नून खरीद गरी सुर्खेत खाल्डोमा ल्याई अन्न (चामल, मकै, कोदो मा साट्दछन् । यदि व्यापार राम्रो भएमा फाल्गुनमा पनि यी सम्बाहरू नून लिन नेपालगंज जान्छन् । यसरी फाल्गुनमा ल्याईएको देशी नूनलाई सुर्खेत खाल्डो, दुल्लु-दैलेखतिर अन्नसंग साटिन्छ । यही अन्नलाई पहाड पु-याइन्छ र आउने साल तिब्बत जांदा यही अन्न लगिन्छ ।

सम्बाहरूको दोस्रो पेशा खेती बारे प्रत्येक सम्बाहरूको परिचय लेख्दा नै संक्षेपमा भए पनि वर्णन गरी सक्यौं । घरेलु उद्योगमा दह०गाली सम्बा आइमाईहरू लिउ (क्याद०लु मेडाको ऊनबाट बनाइएको ओक्याउने), फेरुवा, पाखी आदि बनाउँछन् । यिनीहरूको तान हुम्ली तान (जस्तै बसेर बुन्नु पर्दछ) जस्तै छ । यसरी नै मन्दरा र डाडाखेत सम्बा आइ-माइहरू लिउ, दाना (सानो गलैचा जस्तो ओक्याउने) हुम्ली तानमा बुन्दछन् । यिनीहरू अरु कपडाहरू पनि जमीनदेखि माथि उठाएर राखिएको एक अर्को सालको तानमा बुन्ने गर्दछन् ।

उपसंहार :-

यसरी हामी कर्णाली, सेती, मेरी र राप्ती अन्तर्गत जस्ता ठूला भौगोलिक क्षेत्रफल भित्र कुरिएर बसोवास गर्ने गरेका एउटा सानो जनसंख्या भएका अर्ध-भ्रमणशील जातिलाई 'सम्बा' जातिमा लिन्छौं । यस क्षेत्रको उत्तरी हिमाली भेकका मोटे जातिहरूसँग सम्बाहरूको समानताले दुवै जातिको समान जातीय इतिहास देखाउन सघाउ पु-याउँछ । यी मोटे जातिहरू स्थायी भएर बसिस्केका छन् । सम्बाहरूमा पनि डिल्लीकोट - हुरीकोट सम्बाहरूले आफ्नो जग्गा जमीन दर्ता गराई स्थायी बसोवास गरी सकेका छन् । मन्दरा र डाडाखेत सम्बाहरूले सुर्खेतमा खेत किनेका छन् भने पहाडमा पनि जमिन आवाद गरी घर बनाएर बस्न थालेका छन् । केही दडंगाली सम्बाहरू स्थायी बसोवास गर्न चासो देखाएको देखिए पनि धेरैजसो सेती नै गर्दै नन् जमीन पनि हैन ।

यसरी बसोवास गर्ने क्रमको आधार हेर्दा मोटे जाति पहिला नेपाल आई भ्रमणशील भएर बसे । व्यापारको लागि उत्तरी हिमाली भेक र मध्य पहाडी इलाका चहारे । स्थायी बसोवास गरेर आजकल बसेका छन् । सम्बाहरू मोटेहरूमन्दा पछि आई कोही स्थायी रूपले बसी सके भने कोही अझै अर्ध-भ्रमणशील नै छन् ।

यसरी भ्रमणशील अवस्थाबाट अर्ध-भ्रमणशील अवस्थामा आउनु आजसम्मको सम्बाहरूको इतिहास हो । केही समयपछि यिनीहरू स्थायी भएर बस्न सकेका छन् । यस्तो अल्पसंख्यक जातिलाई स्थायी रूपले बसोवास गराउन र उनीहरूको सांस्कृतिक परम्परा बचाउनको लागि सहयोग गर्नु आज हाम्रो कर्तव्य देखिन आउँछ ।

टिप्पणी

- १। राउटे पश्चिम नेपालका सल्यान, रोल्पा, लुम्बि, डोल्पा, तिब्बतीकोट, जुम्ला, मुगु, हुम्ला, दैलेख, जाजरकोट, डोटी, अछाम, बाजुरा, बझाङ, वैतडी, दार्चुला जस्ता जिल्लाहरूको १२ वर्षमा एक चोटी भ्रमण क्रम पुरा गर्ने एक भ्रमणशील जाति हुन् । यिनीहरू तराई र कञ्चनपुर फर्केनन् । आजकल भने यिनीहरू सुर्खेत र दाङ सम्म फर्कन थालेका सुनिन्छ । यिनीहरूको स्थायी रूपले बसोवास गर्ने कुनै खास क्षेत्र छैन । यिनीहरू पानी नजीक भएको जंगलका ठाउँमा स्याउलाको 'राउटी' (कटेरो) हालेर बस्दछन् । जंगलबाट दार, खर्सु, ठिंगो, मुँज आदि रूखहरू काटी यसबाट भाँडा कुडा, खाट, टेबल, कुर्सी आदि बनाई पैसामा बेच्दछन् वा अन्नसंग साट्दछन् । यिनीहरूको आफ्नै 'राउटे' भाषा छ । नेपालको जातिहरूमा यी ज्यादै अल्पसंख्यक (हालमा करीब १५० जति मात्र) भएको अनुमान लगाइन्छ ।
- २। कुसुण्डा पनि पहिला राउटेहरू जस्तै भ्रमणशील जाति हुन् । यिनीहरू अल्लो, सिस्नु, मांग्राको धागोबाट बनाइएको लुगाफाटा ओढी जंगल जंगल घुम्ने गरेका थिए । गाउँका मानिसहरू यिनीहरूलाई 'वनराजा' भन्ने गर्दछन् । यिनीहरूको आफ्नै 'कुसुण्डा' भाषा छ । आजकल यिनीहरू स्थायी रूपले बसोवास गरी खेती गर्न थालेका सुनिन्छ । राउटेहरू कुसुण्डालाई केही समयसम्म राजा मान्थे भन्ने भनाइ पनि छ ।
- ३। व्यांसी जाति दार्चुला (नेपाल) र धार्चुला (उत्तर प्रदेश)का अर्का अर्ध-भ्रमणशील जाति हुन् । यिनीहरूको मुख्य पेशा व्यापारनै हो । व्यापार गर्नमा सुदूर पश्चिमी नेपालमा व्यांसीहरूको स्थान पहिलो छ । थोरै जमीनमा खेती पनि गर्ने गर्दछन् । खच्चर, घोडा र भेडाबाख्रामा मारी बोकाई यिनीहरू तिब्बतबाट नून, ऊन ल्याउँछन् भने नेपाल तराई तथा भारतबाट लत्ताकपडा, चामल र अरू अन्न तिब्बत पु-याउँछन् । नेपाली व्यांसीहरूको ग्रीष्म वासस्थान तिङ्गार र क्यांग्रु हुन् र शीत कालमा यिनीहरू दार्चुला बजारनिर (जसलाई पनि तल्लो तिङ्गार र तल्लो क्यांग्रु भनिन्छ) बस्दछन् । यिनीहरू नेपाली, 'व्यांसी' र तिब्बती भाषा बोल्न सक्ने भएकोले 'सौका' पनि भनिन्छन् ।
- ४। कजेज एण्ड इम्प्याक्ट्स अफ माइग्रेसन, प्रिलिमिनरी सर्भे इन् सुर्खेत रिजन, सेडा, काठमाण्डौ । सिफ्ट, जुलिच, मार्च, १९७३, पृष्ठ ४

- ५। हुम्ला मुगुका मोटे जातिलाई वि.सं. १९११ सालको नेपाल-तिब्बत लडाइपछि र विशेष गरी पन्चायत व्यवस्था लागू भएपछि तिब्बतका अरू मोटे जातिसंग छुट्याउन सरकारी तहमा 'तामाङ' भनिन्थ्यो । उनीहरूले आफूलाई 'तामाङ' भन्ने गरे पनि स्थानीय अरू हिन्दू जातिहरू यिनीहरूलाई आफै 'मोटे' वा 'जाड' नै भन्ने गर्दथ्यो । मध्य नेपालका तामाङ जातिसंग केही ऐतिहासिक, भाषिक आदि सम्बन्ध भएको सुनिएको छैन । मध्य नेपालका तामाङ जातिलाई पनि पहिला 'मोटे' नै भनिन्थ्यो । घोडा बेच्ने भएकोले पछि यिनीहरूलाई तामाङ (ता-घोडा माङ-बेच्ने) भनिएको हो । (विष्ट, डी०वी०, पिपल अफ नेपाल, डिपार्टमेन्ट अफ पब्लिसिटी मिनिष्ट्री अफ इन्फर्मेशन एण्ड ब्रोडकास्टिङ, हिज् म्याजिस्ट्रिज गभर्मेन्ट अफ नेपाल, १९६७, पृ० ४८)
- ६। राहुल सांकृत्यायन, किन्नर देश, १९४८, पृ० ३३-३४ ।
- ७। मतुवाली चौत्री अतागाधारी (जसै नलगाउने) तथा जाड रक्सी सेवन गर्ने पश्चिमी नेपालका चौत्री जातिलाई भनिन्छ । अरू थर (तागाधारी) चौत्रीको अपेक्षा यी मतुवाली चौत्रीहरूको अनुहारमा पाइने मंगोल प्रजातीय गुण (Mongoloid strain) र यिनीहरूको सामाजिक रीतिस्थिति हेर्दा आदिकालका 'खस' जातिनै हुन कि भन्ने अडकल काट्न सकिन्छ ।
- ८। विष्ट, डी. वी., पिपल अफ नेपाल, डिपार्टमेन्ट अफ पब्लिसिटी, मिनिष्ट्री अफ इन्फर्मेशन एण्ड ब्रोडकास्टिङ, हिज् म्याजिस्ट्रिज गभर्मेन्ट अफ नेपाल, १९६७, पृ० १२४ ।
- ९। हडसन, वी. एच., मिसेलेनियस एसेज रिलेटिड टू इन्डियन सबजेक्टस्, लण्डन दुबनर, १८८० र च्याटर्जी, एस.के., किरात जनकृति, रायल एसियाटिक सोसाईटी अफ बेङ्गाल, १ पार्क स्ट्रिट, कलकत्ता १६, १९५१, पृ० ६०-६१ ।
- १०। रोडोलुको ऊनबाट बनाइएको 'पाखी' लाई मित्रबाट सेतो कपडा राखेर सिलाई बनाइएको हुन्छ ।
- ११। बाब्राको राँबाट बनाइएको ओदनेलाई भनिन्छ ।
- १२। चौरी गाई र ललु (तिब्बती) गोरूबाट जन्मेको संकर पुरूषलाई भनिन्छ ।

- १३। जुमा - (जोपाको स्त्रीलिङ्ग) र लिली वा लसी (साधारण) गोर्खाट भएको संकर (पुरुष) लाई भनिन्छ ।
- १४। स्याक्वालाई मुगुतिर 'स्याक्टा' भनिन्छ ।
- १५। पोङ्गू आजकल मात्र यस्तो व्यापारिक केन्द्र भएको हो । चीनियाहरू तिब्बत आउनु अघि चैप्टु (मुगु गाउँ देखि भेडा संग ३ दिनको बाटो) मै नून-अन्नको व्यापार चल्दथ्यो । पोङ्गू जाँदा धेरै मानिसलाई उँचाइ मा हुने विमारी (Altitude Sickness) हुने र भेडाहरू पनि मर्ने गरेको कथाहरू सुनिन्छन् । बाटोमा एउटा फार पनि पाइन्छ, जुन सुडोनाले कपाल दुख्छ, बान्ता आउँछ भन्ने पनि विश्वास गरिन्छ । चीनियाहरू तिब्बत आए पछि केही साल चैप्टु पोङ्गू दुवै व्यापार केन्द्र बन्द हुँदा मुगुका अरू जातिहरू र यी सम्बाहल्लाई व्यापार गर्न ताक्लाकोट (मुगुबाट भेडासंग करीब २२ दिनको बाटो) नै पुग्नु पर्दथ्यो ।



ग्रीष्म वासस्थान ठाडै ढुंगाबाट शीत वासस्थान सांपै अक्लाम जान लागेको
दङ्गाली सम्बा परिवार (मुचु, हुम्ला निर)



खच्चर, घोडा र जोपामा नुन, ऊन, पाल र लुगाफाटा बोकाइ सांपै
अक्लाम जादै गरेका दङ्गाली सम्बा परिवार (मुचु, हुम्ला निर)



शीत वासस्थान सुखेत साल्होमा डाडा खेत र मन्दरा खम्बा परिवारहरू

लिच्छविकालको कर व्यवस्था

धनवज्र बज्राचार्य

जुनसुकै राष्ट्रिय आयोजना पूरा गर्न पनि सबमन्दा पहिले 'कोश' (आर्थिक स्रोत) को बन्दोवस्त मिलाउनु आवश्यक हुन्छ । यस कारण 'राजकोश' (सरकारी ढुकुटी) को महत्त्व स्पष्ट छ । यसै हुँदा उहिलेका अर्थशास्त्रकारहरूले राज्यका सात अङ्गमध्ये एउटा 'कोश' लाई मानेका छन् । लिच्छविकालका अमिलेखमा पनि 'राजकोश' को उल्लेख आएको छ । उदाहरणार्थ चौकितारको वसन्तदेवको अमिलेखलाई देखाउन सकिन्छ ।

ततो ग्रामीणैरपि मा भूद् राजकोशस्यापहानिरिति तत्प्रतिमोचनाय स्वे स्वे ग्रामे -
धिकरणायोरुभयो : द्रोत्रं दत्तं पश्चिमोदेशे भूमि ६ पिण्डकं शोल्लाधिकरणस्य मा २ कूथेरा-
धिकरणस्य मा १ २

(अनि गाउँलेहरूले पनि राजकोशलाई नोक्सान नहोस् भन्नाको लागि आफ्नो आफ्नो गाउँमा दुवै अधिकरणलाई खेत दिएका छन् । गाउँको पश्चिमपट्टि ६ भूमि । त्यसको कुत शोल्ला अधिकरणलाई २ मानिका, कूथेर अधिकरणलाई १ मानिका ।)

लिच्छविकालका अमिलेखहरू केलार्हे हेर्दा त्यस बेला राजकीय आम्दानीको मूल स्रोत 'करव्यवस्था' थियो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । कर अनेक किसिमका थिए । कुनै सर्वत्र लाग्ने व्यापक र कुनै स्थानीय रूपमा लाग्ने गरी लिच्छविकालका करहरूलाई दुइ भागमा छुट्याउन सकिन्छ ।

त्रिकर -

लिच्छविकालका करहरूमा 'त्रिकर' चाहिँ मुख्य हुन् । उठानका अमिलेखहरूमा 'त्रिकर' शब्दको प्रयोग भएको पाइँदैन । अंशुवर्माका अमिलेखहरूमा मात्र 'त्रिकर' शब्दको प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ । उनीपक्षिका अमिलेखहरूमा फेरि 'त्रिकर' शब्दको उल्लेख पाइँदैन ।

बूढानीलकण्ठ र धर्मस्थलीका शिवदेव अंशुवर्माका अमिलेखमा कुंदेको भ्रमवश 'समुचि-तस्त्रीकर' पाठ कुंदिएको छ । यसो हुनाले 'आइमाईमाथि लागेको कर' यो हुनुपर्छ भनी कसैले अनुमान गरेका छन् । महाभारत-कालमा पनि आइमाईमा कर लागेको देखिन्छ भन्ने कुरा तानतुन गरी देखाई त्यसै गरी लिच्छविकालमा पनि आइमाईमाथि कर लागेको देखिन्छ

मन्ने तर्क गरिएको छ । परन्तु यस कुरामा सत्यता हैन । धेरैजसो अमिलेखमा हस्व 'त्रिकर' पाठ नै पाइन्छ । फेरि अमिलेखहरू राम्ररी गढेर पढ्यौं भने उक्त अर्थ अशुद्ध हो मन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । विचारार्थ 'त्रिकर'को उल्लेख भएका अमिलेखको केही अंश यहां उद्धृत गर्नु परेको छ ।

-----मट्टारकमहाराजश्रीशिवदेव : ----- समाज्ञापयति ----- श्रीसामन्तांशुवर्मणा विज्ञापितेन मया ----- कुथेर्वृत्यधिकृतानां समुचित-स्त्रिकरमात्रसाधना (यैव प्रवेशो) स्मिन् द्रङ्गे ----- लिङ्गवलशुल्लीपन्चापरा धादिनिमित्तप्रवेश इति प्रसादो वः कृतो -----

(ललितपुर भीमसेनस्थानको अमिलेखबाट ^३) मट्टारक महाराज श्री शिवदेवबाट ----- आज्ञा भएको छ । ----- श्रीसामन्त अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजुरमा बिन्ति चढाएका हुंदा ----- कुथेर अधिकरणका अधिकारीहरूले 'त्रिकर' उठाउनाका लागि मात्र यस द्रङ्गमा पस्नु योग्य छ । ----- लिङ्गवल, शुल्ली अधिकरणले र पन्चापराधको तहकीकात गर्ने (सम्बद्ध अधिकरणले) यहां नपस्नु भनी तिमीहरूलाई निगाह गरिएको छ ।

----- मट्टारकमहाराजश्रीशिवदेव : ----- माखोपुंसतलद्रङ्ग निवासिनः----- समाज्ञापयति ----- श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्मणा विज्ञापितेन मया ----- कुथेर्वृत्यधिकृतानामत्र समुचितस्त्रिकरमात्रसाधनायैव प्रवेशो लेख्यदान-पंचापराधाद्यर्थन्त्वप्रवेशज्ञात प्रसादो कृतः

(भक्तपुर गोलमाढीटोलको अमिलेखबाट ^४) मट्टारक महाराज श्रीशिवदेवबाट ----- तलसहितको माखोपुं द्रङ्गमा बस्नेहरूलाई ----- आज्ञा भएको छ । ----- श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजुरमा बिन्ति चढाएका हुंदा ----- यहां कुथेर अधिकरणका अधिकारीहरूले 'त्रिकर' उठाउनाको लागि मात्र पस्नु योग्य छ । लेख्यदान= जग्गा किन-बेच गर्दा रजिस्ट्रेशन को रूपमा निस्सापत्र दिनु र पंचापराधको तहकीकात गर्ने आदि कामको निमित्त (सम्बद्ध अधिकरणले) नपस्नु भनी तिमीहरूलाई निगाह गरिएको छ ।)

यसै गरी भक्तपुर तुलाछेटोल, धर्मस्थली, बूढानीलकण्ठ आदि ठाउँका अमिलेखमा पनि 'त्रिकर' को उल्लेख आएको छ ।

अंशुवर्माले स्थानीय ग्रामपञ्चालीहरूलाई स्वायत्तशासनको अधिकार सुम्पदै जाने नीति लिएका थिए । यसो हुनाले विभिन्न सरकारी अधिकरणहरूले निर्दिष्ट गाउँमा पस्न नपाउने व्यवस्था उनले बाँधेका थिए । तर यसो गर्दा राजकोशलाई बढी हानि नहोस् भनी 'त्रिकर' उठाउन चाहिँ कुथेर अधिकरणले पस्नु मन्ने नियम बनाइएको हो । यसरी जनताले स्वायत्तशासन

को अधिकार पनि पाओस् राजकोशलाई बढी हानि पनि नहोस् भन्ने नीति अंशुवर्माको थियो । यस्तो महत्वपूर्ण कुरातिर दृष्टि नदिई हामीले 'त्रिकर' आइमाईमाथि लागेको कर भन्ने अर्थ गर्नतिर लाग्यौं भने यसबाट अनर्थ हुने स्पष्ट छ ।

'त्रिकर' शब्दको प्रयोग अंशुवर्माका अभिलेखमा मात्र पाइन्छ । उनीभन्दा अघि र पछिका अभिलेखमा 'त्रिकर' शब्दको प्रयोग पाइँदैन भन्ने कुराको चर्चा माथि नै गरिसकेको छु । अंशुवर्माकै पनि कुनै कुनै अभिलेखमा 'त्रिकर' को सट्टामा 'समुचितकर' मात्र भनिएको पनि पाइन्छ ।

उदाहरणार्थ धापासीको अभिलेखलाई देखाउन सकिन्छ --

*-----मट्टारकमहाराजश्रीशिवदेवः ----- प्रणालीदिमकग्रामनिवासिनः ----- समाज्ञापयति-
श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्मणा मां विज्ञाप्य ----- कुथेलिङ्खलपन्चापराधमात्राप्रवेशेन वः प्रसादः
कृतः समुचितकरमात्रसाधनाय तु तदधिकृतैः प्रवेष्टव्यमेव ५

(मट्टारक महाराज श्रीशिवदेवबाट ----- प्रणालीदिमक गाउँमा बस्नेहरूलाई ---
आज्ञा भएको छ । श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजूरमा बिन्ति चढाएर ----- कुथेर,
लिङ्खल अधिकरण र पन्चापराधसम्बन्धी काम गर्ने अधिकरणले (तिमीहरूका)पस्न नपाउने
गरी निगाह गरिदिएकाे छ । उचित कर लिनालाई चाहिँ० सम्बद्ध अधिकरणका अधिकारी-
हरूले पस्न पाउँछन् ।)

यसबाट पहिलादेखि चल्दै आइरहेको समुचित करलाई नै अंशुवर्माले 'त्रिकर' संज्ञा दिएका हुन् भन्ने देखिन्छ । यस कुराको पुष्टिको लागि अब अंशुवर्माभन्दा अघि र पछिका अभिलेखहरूमा त्यस बेला प्रचलित करलाई के भनिएको छ, त्यसबारे विचार गर्नुपरेको छ । यसका लागि केही अभिलेखका सम्बद्ध अंश यहां उद्धृत गर्नुपरेको छ । *-----मट्टारकमहाराजश्री (वसन्तदेवः) ----- ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः समाज्ञापयति --- मयायुष्मत्यै प्रियमगिन्यै जयसुन्दर्यै स्वसन्तानानुक्रमेण सुस्थितकोटमय्यादः अवाटभटप्रवेशयोयं ग्रामोतिसृष्टो -----तदेवम्वदित्वा-
त्रमवदमिः समुचितभागभोगकरपिण्डकदानादिमिष्पकुर्व्वद्भिरनया पाल्यमानैराज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैः सुखं प्रतिवस्तव्यम् *

धानकोटको अभिलेखबाट ६

(मट्टारक महाराज श्रीवसन्तदेवबाट--- गाउँका गृहस्थीहरूलाई आज्ञा भएको छ ।
हामीबाट प्यारी बहिनी नानी जयसुन्दरीलाई सन्तानदरसन्तान भोग गर्न पाउने गरी,

कोट्टसम्बन्धी स्थितिबन्धेजले युक्त पारी, चाटभटले पस्न नपाउने गरी यो गाउँ दिइएको छ। ----- यो कुरा थाहा पाई तिमिहरूले --- साविकबमोजिम माग, भोग, कर र पिण्डक (कुत) आदि यिनीलाई बुझाई यिनीले लार अह्राएको काम गरी, यिनीद्वारा नै हेरचाह गरिएका हुंदा सुखसंग बस्नु ।)

*----- इत्येवञ्चावेत्य यूयमद्याग्रेण (स) मुचितकरं ददन्तः सर्वकृत्येष्वान्नाविधेयाः सन्तो निरुद्धिग्ममनसो यथासुखं प्रतिव (सतेति) दूतकश्चात्र सर्वदण्डनायकमहाप्रतिहाररविगुप्त इति संवत् ४४६ प्रथमाष्टादशकुलदशम्याम् *

(किसिपिंडीको वसन्तदेवको अमिलेखबाट^७)

(----- यो कुरा थाहा पाई तिमिहरू अबदेखि साविकबमोजिमको कर बुझाई सबै काम लार अह्राएअनुसार गरी निर्धक्क भई सुखसंग बस्नु । यहाँ दूतक (मार्फत) सर्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार रविगुप्त छन् । संवत् ४४६ प्रथमाष्टादश कुल दशमी ।)

*----- परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज शिवदेव :---समाज्ञापयति -----अयद्ग्रामः शरीरकोट्टमर्यादोपपन्नश्चाटभटानामप्रवेशेन -----वशपाशुपताचार्यभ्यः प्रतिपादितः तदेवमवमतार्थैर्भवद्भिः समुचितदेयमागभोगकरहिरण्यादिसर्वप्रत्यायानेषामुपयच्छादमः -----

(का०६० लगनको अमिलेखबाट^६)

(परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज शिवदेवबाट -----आज्ञा भएको छ । शरीर र कोट्टको स्थितिबन्धेजले युक्त भएको, चाटभटले पस्न नपाउने गरिएको यो गाउँ ----- वश-पाशुपत सम्प्रदायका आचार्यहरूलाई दिइएको छ । यो थाहा पाई तिमिहरूले साविकबमोजिम दिनुपर्ने माग, भोग, कर र हिरण्य आदि सबै राजकीय आम्दानी उहाँहरूलाई नै बुझाउनु -----सुखसंग यहाँ बस्नु ।)

यसबाट लिच्छविकालमा प्रचलित मुख्य कर-माग, भोग, कर हुन् भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । माग, भोग, कर यी तीन धरी कर नै अंशुवर्माका अमिलेखमा 'त्रिकर' नामले व्यवहृत गरिएको हो भन्ने कुरा पनि प्रसङ्गवाट स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

अब माग, भोग, कर यी के कस्ता किसिमका कर हुन्, यसको निर्णय गर्नुपर्नेको छ । करका यी नाम भारतका अमिलेखमा पनि पाइएका छन् । यी करसम्बन्धी स्पष्ट व्याख्या नपाइएको हुनाले विभिन्न विद्वान्हरूले यिनका विभिन्न अर्थ अड्कल गरेका छन् । परन्तु महा-भारत, कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र मनुस्मृति आदि ग्रन्थहरू राम्ररी छानबीन गरी हे-याँ भने यी माग,

भोग, करका अर्थ खुल्छन् भन्ने मलाई लागेको छ । कृषि, पाशुपाल्य, वाणिज्य यी तीन कुरा आम्दानीको मुख्य स्रोत हुन् । यी तीन कुरालाई संस्कृत-बाद०मयमा 'वार्ता' भन्ने संज्ञा दिइएको छ । 'वार्ताच्छेदे हि लोकोयं श्वसन्नपि न जीवति=वार्ता शास्त्र लुप्त भयो भने मानिस जिउंदै मर्छन्' भनी शास्त्रकारहरूले यसको महिमा गाएका छन् ६ । आचार्य कौटल्यले पनि वार्ताशास्त्रको चर्चा यसरी गरेका छन् ।

कृषिपाशुपाल्ये वाणिज्या च वार्ता । धान्यपशुहिरण्यकुप्यविष्टिप्रदानादौपकारिकी तथा स्वपांदां परपदां च वशीकरोति कोशदण्डाभ्याम् ।

(कृषि, पाशुपाल्य, वाणिज्य वार्ता कहिन्छ । अनाज, पशु, नगद जिनिस, बेठ-विगार दिने हुनाले वार्ता उपयोगी छ । वार्ताद्वारा संगृहीत कोश र दण्डद्वारा नै (राजा) आफन्त र पराईलाई वश पार्छन् ।)

यसबाट कोशको मुख्य आधार कृषि, पाशुपाल्य, वाणिज्य हुन् भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यसरी कृषि, पाशुपाल्य, वाणिज्यबाट बढी कर उठ्न सक्ने हुनाले पहिलेदेखि यी तीन कुरामा देशकाल अनुसार विभिन्न कर लागेको उल्लेख पाइन्छ ।

कृषिमा लागेको कर 'भाग' हो । जग्गाको पैदावार हेरी 'भाग' कर लिइन्थ्यो । साधारणतः अनाजको पैदावारको ६ भागको १ भागको रूपमा यो कर लिइन्थ्यो । जग्गा हेरी आठ भागको एक भाग, बाह्र भागको एक भाग पनि लिइन्थ्यो । भागको यो परिमाण मनुस्मृतिबाट खुल्छ । सो यस प्रकारको छ -

*पंचाशदभाग आदेयो राज्ञा पशुहिरण्ययोः ।

धान्यानामष्टमो भागः षष्ठो द्वादश एव वा ॥*

राजाले पशु र हिरण्यमा पचास भागको एक भाग लिन् । अनाजमा छ भागको एक भाग, आठ भागको एक भाग वा बाह्र भागको एक भाग लिन् ।

टीकाकार यसको व्याख्या यसरी गर्दछन् ।

अष्टमः षष्ठो द्वादश इति विकल्पो भूम्युत्कर्णापकर्णत्वेशलाघवगौरवापेदाया द्रष्टव्यः । धान्यानां त्रीह्यवादीनाम् । अयं च भागः कर्षकैभ्य एव ग्रासः ।

(वीरमित्रोदय, राजनीतिप्रकाशको ३३६ पृ.)^{१०}

(जग्गाको असल कंसल, सजिलो गाह्रो कुरा विचार गरी छ भागको एक भाग, आठ भागको एक भाग, बाह्रभागको एक भाग लिने नियम बनाइएको हो । यो 'भाग' खेतीवालहरू

संग अनाजमा मात्र लिइने कर हो ।)

यसबाट 'माग' कृषिमा लागेको कर हो भन्ने निश्चित भएको छ । केवलपुरको अमिलेखमा 'द्वादशभाग'को उल्लेख आएको छ । यसबाट बाह्र भागको एक भाग लिने प्रथा लिच्छविकालमा थियो भन्ने कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

'कर' शब्द साधारण कर अर्थमा पनि प्रयुक्त हुन्छ । विशिष्ट रूपमा प्रयोग हुँदा चाहिँ 'कर' शब्दले 'वाणिज्य' मा लागेको करलाई बुझाउँथ्यो । जस्तै-

'विक्रयं क्रयमध्वानं भक्तं च सपरिच्छदम् ।

योगक्षेमं च सम्प्रेक्ष्य वणिजां कारयेत्करम् ॥

महामारत शान्तिपर्व ८७ अध्याय १४ श्लोक (किन-बैच, बाटो, बाटोखर्च, मालको प्राप्ति र बचावट आदि विचार गरी व्यापारीहरू संग 'कर' लिनु ।)

यसरी 'माग' कृषिमा र 'कर' वाणिज्यमा लागेका कर हुन् भन्ने स्पष्ट देखिएको छ । बाँकी रहेको 'मोग' चाहिँ पाशुपाल्यमा लागेको कर हो भन्ने देखिन्छ । यद्यपि 'मोग' शब्दको अर्थ स्पष्ट गर्ने वचन पाइएको छैन तापनि उपर्युक्त कुराको प्रसङ्ग विचार गर्दा 'पाशुपाल्य' मा लागेको कर नै 'मोग' हो भन्ने देखिएको छ । कुक्कुट, सूकर, मत्स्य आदि पाशुपाल्यमा लागेको करको उल्लेख लिच्छविकालका अमिलेखमा ठाउँ-ठाउँमा पाइन्छ । यसबाट पनि उक्त कुराको केही पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

माग, मोग, कर यी त्रिकर सर्वत्र लागू भएका व्यापक कर हुन् । केही स्थानीय कर पनि थिए । उदाहरणार्थ दक्षिणकोलिग्राममा हुने गौयुद्धको उपलक्ष्यमा लिइने 'गौयुद्धकर' लाई देखाउन सकिन्छ । थानकोटको भीमार्जुनदेव जिष्णुगुप्तको अमिलेखमा यस करको उल्लेख आएको छ । यसै गरी अरू पनि केही स्थानीय करको उल्लेख पाइन्छ ।

अब अमिलेखमा नामांलेख भएका करहरूको चर्चा अमिलेखको उद्धरणसहित गर्नुपर्ने छ लशुन-पलाण्डुकर-

पाटन भीमसेनस्थानको शिवदेव अंशुवर्माको अमिलेखमा लशुन र प्याजमा लागेको करको उल्लेख आएको छ -

'कुथेरवृत्यधिकृतानां समुचितस्त्रिकरमात्रसाधनायैव प्रवेशोस्मिन् द्रढगे -----
लशुनपलाण्डुकराभ्यां च प्रतिमुक्तः ११

(कुथेर अधिकरणका अधिकारीहल्ले 'त्रिकर' उठाउनाका लागि मात्र यस द्रड०गमा पस्नु योग्य छ । ----- यहां लशुन र प्याजमा लागेको करको माफी गरिएको छ ।)

'त्रिकर' उठाउन कुथेर अधिकरणका अधिकारीहल्ले यहां पस्नु मनी मनिएको हुंदा तरकारीमा लागेको कर पनि उठाउन पाउने भएकोमा अनुग्रह गरी प्याज र लशुनमा लागेको कर चाहिं माफी गरियो मनी यहां मनिएको छ । यस उल्लेखबाट लशुन र प्याजबाहेक अरु तरकारीमा कर लागू थियो, अनुग्रह गरिएको निर्दिष्ट इलाकामन्दा अरु इलाकामा लशुन र प्याजमा पनि साबिकबमोजिम कर लागू नै थियो मन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

मत्स्यकर-

चापागाउँको शिवदेवको अमिलेखमा माछाका विभिन्न जातमा लागेको करको उल्लेख परेको छ । यस विषयमा विचार गर्न सो अमिलेखको केही अंश यहां उद्धृत गर्नुपरेको छ-

----- मट्टारकमहाराजश्रीशिवदेवः----- समाज्ञापयति ----- यथेह स्थलद्रड०गे मत्स्योपक्रयड०कृत्वा प्रतिनिवर्तमानानामेकस्य ----- शुल्कापद्मासेन काष्ठिकामत्स्यमारके एकस्मिन् ----- (ताम्रि) कपणत्रयं च मुक्कुण्डिकामत्स्यमारके दश मुक्कु (ण्डिकामत्स्याः) त्रिपणाः राजग्रीवके दश राजग्रीवमत्स्याः पणत्र (यं)----- मत्स्यमारके ----- त्रिपणा मुक्कामत्स्यमा (रके)----- शुल्कं १२

(----- मट्टारक महाराज श्रीशिवदेवबाट ----- आज्ञा भएको छ । ----- यहां स्थलद्रड०गमा माछा किन-बेच गरेर फर्केकाहरूको ----- शुल्क (मंसार-दर) मा कमी गरी एक मारी काष्ठिकामत्स्यमा ----- तीन तामाका पण, (एक मारी) मुक्कुण्डिकामत्स्यमा दश माछा र ती पण, एक मारी राजग्रीव मत्स्यमा दश माछा र ती पण, एक मारी--- माछामा ----- तीन पण, एक मारी मुक्कामत्स्यमा ----- शुल्क ----- लिनु ।)

नेपालमा पाइने माछाको मेदअनुसार मंसार -दर तोकिएको यस उदाहरणले लिच्छविकालमा करप्रथा व्यवस्थित थियो मन्ने दर्शाएको छ । कर नगद र जिन्सी दुवै रूपमा लिइन्थ्यो मन्ने पनि यसबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

माछा, कुसुरा, सुंगुर आदिको पालनलाई प्रोत्साहन दिने नीति अंशुवर्माले लिएका थिए । यो कुरो बुद्धमतीको उनको अमिलेखबाट थाहा पाइन्छ १३। यसै हुंदा माछाको बिक्रीमा लागेको कर अंशुवर्माले घटाउन लाएको देखिन्छ ।

सूकरकर

लिच्छविकालमा सूकर (सुंगुर) को मासु खाने जातिको पनि बसोवास यहाँ थियो । यसो हुँदा पात्तु पशुमा सुंगुर पनि एक थियो । बुद्धमतीको अमिलेखबाट माछा कुसुरा आदिको जस्तै सुंगुरको पनि पालनमा वृद्धि होस् भनी अंशुवर्माले चिताएको देखिन्छ । वटुको अंशुवर्माको अमिलेखमा 'सूकर-कर' को उल्लेख आएको छ ^{१४}। यसबाट सुंगुरमा पनि कर लागेको थियो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ ।

यसै गरी कुसुरा आदिमा पनि कर लागेको देखिन्छ ।

मल्लकर-

लिच्छविकालका अमिलेखमा 'मल्लकर' को उल्लेख ठाउँ-ठाउँमा आएको छ । 'मल्लकर' बारे इतिहासकारहरूको निकै मतभेद रहेको छ । 'मल्ल' शब्दका धेरैथरी अर्थ हुँदा यसो हुनु केही अंशमा स्वाभाविक पनि छ । 'मल्लजातिमा लागेको कर' अथवा मल्लजातिको आक्रमणबाट बच्न उठाइएको कर यो होला भनी केही विद्वान् यसको अर्थ गर्दछन् । संस्कृतमा 'मल्ल' शब्दको अर्थ 'पहलमान' भन्ने पनि हुन्छ । लेलेको अंशुवर्माको अमिलेखमा 'मल्लयुद्धगोष्ठी'को उल्लेख परेको छ । यसबाट लिच्छविकालमा 'पहलमान लडाउने' चलन थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ । यसो हुनाले यस्तै पहलमान लडाउने उत्सवको उपलक्ष्यमा लिइने कर 'मल्लकर' होला भनी अर्काथरीले अनुमान गरेका छन् । तर अमिलेखहरू केलाइ हेर्दा उपर्युक्त दुवै कुरा होइनन् भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । यस कारण यस विषयमा विचार गर्न पहिले 'मल्लकर' को उल्लेख भएका अमिलेखको केही उद्धरण यहाँ दिनुपरेको छ -

‘-----श्री शिवदेवः ----- समाज्ञापयति ----- पूर्वराजैरस्य द्रढंगः -----
पकर्मपरितुष्टेन मल्लकरकरणीयद०कार्णा (पणा) दूध्वं न ग्रहीतव्यमिति प्रसादः कृतः’

(विष्णुपादुकाको फेदीको अमिलेखबाट)

(----- श्री शिवदेवबाट ----- आज्ञा भएको छ । ---- अधिक राजाहरूले यो द्रढंगलाई उपकारद्वारा खुशी भई मल्लकर विषयमा १ कार्णापणमन्दा बढी नलिनु भनी निगाह गरिएको थियो ।)

‘ तेभ्यः मल्लकर ----- समुचितताप्रपणचतुष्टयादूर्द्ध्वं न ग्राह्यमिति प्रसादद्वयं
समधिकन्दतं

(धरमपुरको अमिलेखबाट १६)

(----- मल्लकर ----- साबिक चारतामाका पणमन्दा बढी नलिनू भनी दुइटा बढी निगाह गरी दिइयो ।)

श्रीमहासामन्तशुवर्मा ----- समाज्ञापयति ----- कुक्कुटसूकराणां मल्ल(पोता)नां मत्स्यानां चाबाधनेन परितुष्टैरस्माभिर्मदटाधिकरणप्रवेशेन : प्रसादः कृतो -----

(बुद्धमतीको अमिलेखबाट १७)

(----- श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवर्मा ----- आज्ञा गर्नुभएको छ । कुसुरा, सुंगुर, मल्लका बच्चा र माछाहरूको हेरचाहले खुशी भएका हामीबाट 'मदट' अधिकरणले तिमीहरूलाई पस्न नपाउने गरी निगाह गरिएको छ ।)

----- श्री महासामन्तांशुवर्मा ----- समाज्ञापयति ----- शालाप्रणालीकर्म-परितोषितैरस्माभिः ----- मल्लपोतसूकराणां ----- मुक्त्वा -----

(वटुको अमिलेखबाट १८)

(श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवर्मा ----- आज्ञा गर्नुभएको छ । ----- शालाको धारा बनाउने कामले खुशी भएका हामीबाट ----- मल्लका बच्चा र सुंगुरउपरको कर ----- माफी गरी -----)

*-----अन्यश्चास्माभिः प्रयोजनान्तराराधितैर्भवतां ग्रामनिवासिनां कुटुम्बिनाम्प्रसाद-विशेषो दत्तो ----- मल्लकरे च पणचतुष्टयन्देयमिति *

(थानकोटको अमिलेखबाट) १९

(----- अरू कामद्वारा प्रसन्न भई हामीबाट यस गाउँमा बस्ने तिमीहरूलाई अर्को विशेष निगाह पनि गरिएको छ । ----- मल्लकरमा पनि चार पण दिनू ।)

--- यो युष्माकम्मल्लकरः पूर्वं ----- श्वतुर्मिस्ताधिकरणैः ----- प्रतिमुक्तोभूदस्माभिः ----- (प) णाः प्रतिमुक्ता मल्लपोतकानामपि मर्यादा ---

(यद्गंगालहिटीको अमिलेखबाट) २०

(पहिलेका (राजा)ले तिमीहरूलाई मल्लकरमा चार तामाका पण माफी गरिदिइएको थियो । हामीले ----- पण माफी गरिदिएका छौं । मल्लका बच्चाहरूको पनि बन्धेज ----- बांधि दिएका छौं ।)

माथि दिइएका उद्धरणमा 'मल्ल' को उल्लेख कुसुरा, सुंगुर, माछाहल्लसँगै आएको छ । यसबाट कुसुरा, सुंगुरहरू जस्तै 'मल्ल' पनि पात्तू प्राणिविशेषको नाम हो । यिनैमा लागेको कर 'मल्लकर' हो भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

माथि उद्धृत अमिलेखमा 'मल्लकर' साथै 'मल्लपोतकर' को पनि उल्लेख आएको छ । 'पोतः पाकः शिशुर्दिग्धः' अमरकोशको यस वचन अनुसार 'पोत' भनेको बच्चा हो भन्ने निश्चित छ । यसबाट 'मल्लकर' पहलमानिसम्बन्धी कर होइन भने स्पष्ट बुझिन्छ । किनभने पहलमानको बच्चामा समेत कर लाग्ने कुरा कुनै हालतमा भिल्ले देखिदैन ।

माछा आदिमा लागेको करभन्दा 'मल्लकर' अलि बढी रूपमा लिइन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा माथि उद्धृत अमिलेखहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । विष्णुपादुकाको फेदीको अमिलेखमा 'मल्लकर' एक कार्णापण (१६ पण) भन्दा बढी नलिनु भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ । यसबाट कहिले मल्लकर एक कार्णापणभन्दा बढी पनि लिइन्थ्यो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । पछि घटाएर चार पण मात्र लिने गरियो भन्ने कुरा धरमपुर धानकोटको अमिलेखबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । मल्लका बच्चामा भिन्नै व्यवस्था लागू थियो भन्ने कुरा यदुंगालहिटी र वटुको अमिलेखबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । कुसुरा, सुंगुर आदिका बच्चामा भने यस्तो भिन्नै करव्यवस्थाको उल्लेख अमिलेखमा पाइदैन । यसबाट कुसुरा, सुंगुरहरूभन्दा 'मल्ल' ठूलो प्राणी हो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । नेवारी भाषामा 'रांगो' को एक थरी जातलाई 'मले मे' भनी अहिलेसम्म भनिन्छ । यस कारण 'मल्लकर' रांगोमा लागेको कर र 'मल्लपोतकर' रांगोको बच्चामा लागेको कर हो कि भन्ने मलाई लागेको छ । यसको निर्णयको लागि अरू प्रमाणको प्रतीक्षा गर्नुपरेको छ ।

गोयुद्धकर-

यदुंगालहिटी र भृङ्गारेश्वरको अमिलेखमा व्यक्तिको सम्पत्तिको प्रसंगमा 'गोधन' को पनि उल्लेख आएको छ । यसबाट लिच्छविकालमा गृहस्थीहरू गाई पात्दथे भन्ने स्पष्ट बुझिन्छ । तर गाईमा 'कर' लागेको भने देखिदैन ।

दक्षिणकोलीग्राममा हुने सांढे जुधाउने उत्सवको लागि भने केही कर उठाइन्थ्यो । यसलाई 'गोयुद्धकर' संज्ञा दिन सकिन्छ । धानकोटको अमिलेखमा यसको उल्लेख आएको छ ।

दक्षिणकोलीग्राममा गोयुद्धे गोहले गोहले यद्देमासीतस्यर्षम्प्रतिमुक्तं २१

(दक्षिणकोलीग्राममा हुने गोयुद्धमा एकहलो जग्गापिच्छे जो बुझाउनुपर्थ्यो त्यसको आधा माफनी गरिएको छ ।)

सिंकर-

माथि उल्लिखित थानकोटको मीमार्जुनदेव जिष्णुगुप्तको अमिलेखमा अर्का करको पनि उल्लेख परेको छ । त्यो हो 'सिंकर' । जस्तै:-

'सिंकरे च येन कार्षापणान्देयन्तेनाष्टौ पणा देया येनाष्टौ पणा, देयं पणाचतुष्टयं'
(सिंकरमा जसले एक कार्षापण बुझाउनुपर्छ, त्यसले ८ पण बुझाउनु । जसले ८ पण बुझाउनुपर्छ, त्यसले ४ पण बुझाउनु ।)

'सिं' यो संस्कृतभाषाको शब्द होइन । तात्कालिक जनभाषाबाट रूढ भई यो शब्द प्रचलित भएको हो । किराती, नेवारी, तामाङ आदि भाषामा यो शब्द अद्यापि प्रचलित छ । यसको अर्थ दाउरा, काठ भन्ने हुन्छ । यसबाट 'सिंकर' दाउरा, काठमा लागेको कर हो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । लिच्छविकालमन्दा अधिदेखि प्रचलित यो 'सिंकर' लिच्छविकालमा पनि यथावत् कायम भएको देखिन्छ ।

चैलकर-

लिच्छविकालमा यहाँ कपडा बुन्ने व्यवसाय राम्ररी चलेको देखिन्छ । यसैले त्यस बेलाका अमिलेखमा ठाउँ ठाउँमा 'चैलकर' को उल्लेख आएको छ । कपडालाई संस्कृतमा 'चैल' भनिने हुनाले 'चैलकर' कपडाको उत्पादनमा लागेको कर हो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । थानकोटको माथि उल्लिखित अमिलेखमा 'चैलकर' को पनि चर्चा परेको छ । सो यस प्रकारको छ -

'----- अस्मज्ज्येष्ठप्रपितामहमानगुप्तगोमिकारितपुष्करिणीमुद्दिश्य ग्रामस्योत्तरेण पर्वतभूमिशचोखपरानामधेयचैलकरम्प्रतिमुच्य दत्ता'

(----- हाम्रा जेठा बराज्यू मानगुप्त गोमीले बनाउनुभएको पोखरीको निमित्त नजीकै उत्तरतिर रहेको डाँडो 'चोखपरा' भन्ने चैलकर माफनी गराएर दिइयो -----)

यहाँ कपडामा लागेको करको स्थानीय रूढ नाउँ 'चोखपरा' भन्ने छ । यो पनि संस्कृत शब्द होइन । 'चो' शब्द अहिलेसम्म नेवारीमा प्रचलित छ । यसको अर्थ 'डाँडो' भन्ने हुन्छ । यही अर्थमा 'चो' शब्दको प्रयोग लिच्छविकालका अमिलेखमा धेरै ठाउँमा भएको छ । यहाँ 'पर्वतभूमिशचोखपरानामधेयचैलकरम्प्रतिमुच्य दत्ता' भनी चैलकर माफनी गराउनु डाँडो दिइएको हुनाले पनि उक्त कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ । 'चोखपरा' नाउँ भएको यो चैलकर लिच्छविकालमन्दा अधिदेखि नै प्रचलित भएको देखिन्छ ।

बलम्बूको अमिलेखमा पनि 'चैलकर' को उल्लेख आएको छ -

----- मट्टारकमहाराजश्री भीमार्जुन (देवस्त) त्पुरस्सरः -----श्रीजिष्णुगुप्त---
अनुदर्शयति ----- अस्मामिर्जालिप्रड०ग्रामे ----- पातयित्वा प्रणालीमस्या एवानुपालनहेतोः--
जोत्प्रिड०ग्रामपांचालिकानां चैलकरं २३ प्रतिमुच्य प्रसादीकृतं २३

(----- मट्टारक महाराज श्रीभीमार्जुनदेव र उहांका अधिसरा मई काम गर्ने
----- श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तले ----- बाटो देखाउनुभएको छ । हामीले जोत्प्रिड०ग्राममा बनाएको
घाराको हेरविचारको लागि --- जोत्प्रिड०ग्रामका पान्चालिकहल्लाई 'चैलकर' माफी
गरी निगाह गरियो ।)

नक्साल नारायणचौरको अमिलेखमा 'चैलकर' को रूपमा उठेको केही रकम दौवारिक-
लाई बुझाउने कुरा परेको छ । -

'प्रसादसंस्कारे च सर्वपरिच्छदने प्रतिवर्षं वेत्रदौवारिकस्याशीतिः पणपुराणाः ।
एवंचैलकरस्य च षट् पणपुराणाः सद्धिपणाः ' २४

(दरबारको मरम्मतको लागि र सिंगारपटारको लागि प्रतिवर्षं वेत्र दौवारिकलाई
असी पणपुराण दिनु । यसै गरी 'चैलकर' को ६ पणपुराण र दुइ पण पनि दिनु ।)
आपणाकर-

पशुपति वज्रधरको नरेन्द्रदेवको अमिलेखमा मिदुसंघलाई आर्थिक सहायतास्वरूप वित्त
दिँदा केही कर उठाउने अधिकार पनि दिइएको छ । त्यस प्रसङ्गमा त्यहाँ 'आपणाकर' को
उल्लेख आएको छ । पसलपिच्छे लिइने करलाई 'आपणाकर' संज्ञा दिइएको देखिन्छ ।
वज्रधरको अमिलेखको सम्बद्ध वाक्य यस प्रकारको छ ।-

----- आपणाकरोधिकमासतुलादण्डादिश्च सर्व एवार्यमिदु (संघस्य) २५

(आपणाकर र अधिकमासतुलादण्ड (अधिकमास आण्ड र पौषमा बजारमा ढक
तराजू आदि जाँच्दा फरक परे व्यापारीलाई गरिनेदण्ड) आदि सबै आर्यमिदुसंघले नै लिनु)

यसबाट पसलपिच्छे कर लिने प्रथा लिच्छविकालमा थियो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ ।

माथि चर्चा गरिएका करहरूबाहेक दण्डको रूपमा पनि लिच्छविकालमा निकै रकम
उत्तथ्यो । यस विषयमा अर्का निबन्धमा विचार गरिने छ ।

‘राजस्व’ उठाउने काम मुख्य गरी ‘कुथेर’ अधिकरणको अन्तर्गत थियो । पूर्णिमा २३ अङ्कमा यस विषयमा विचार गरिएको छ । यस कारण यहां फेरि चर्चा गर्नु आवश्यक देखिदैन ।

अमिलेखहरूमा ‘कुथेर्वृत्यधिकृतानां समुचितस्त्रिकरमात्रसाधनाय प्रवेशः’ यस्ता उल्लेख पाइने हुनाले सरकारी अधिकारीहरू गाउँ-गाउँमा गई माग, मोग आदि कर उठाउंथे भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यी अधिकारीहरू के कस्ता थिए भन्ने कुरा खुल्नसकेको छैन । तर तीमध्ये एक ‘चाटमट’ नामक अधिकारीबारे भने हामी केही बुझ्न सक्छौं ।

चाटमट-

लिच्छविकालका अमिलेखहरूमा धेरै ठाउँमा ‘चाटमट’ को उल्लेख आएको छ । भारतका अमिलेखहरूमा पनि ‘चाटमट’को उल्लेख प्रशस्त पाइन्छ । तर यसको निश्चित अर्थ प्रकाशमा आएको छैन । पहिले यसको अर्थ पुलीस र सिपाही भनी कृपाइएको थियो २६ । तर यो अर्थ अशुद्ध देखिएको छ । हाल यसको ठीक अर्थ सुलेको छ जस्तो मलाई लागेको छ । यस कारण यस विषयमा अलि विचार गर्नुपरेको छ ।

नेपालका र भारतका अमिलेखहरू अलि गहिरिएर पढ्यौं भने ‘चाटमट’ को कामबारे हामी केही बुझ्न सक्छौं । जहाँ जहाँ माल-पोत माफनी गरी बिर्ताको रूपमा जग्गा दिइएको हुन्छ; त्यहाँ त्यहाँ ‘चाटमट’प्रवेशः यहां चाटमटले नपस्नु’ भनी लेखिएको पाइन्छ । यसबाट ‘चाटमट’ को काम ठाउँ-ठाउँमा गई मालपोत उठाउन जाने हुन्थ्यो भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । यस विषयमा विचार गर्न केही अमिलेखको चर्चा यहां गर्नुपरेको छ ।

माथि उद्धृत थानकोटको अमिलेखमा वसन्तदेवले आफ्नी बहिनी जयसुन्दरीलाई माग, मोग, आदि कर माफनी गरी बिर्ता दिएको कुरा परेको छ । कर माफनी गरी बिर्तारूपमा ग्राम दिइएको हुँदा अब चाटमटले उक्त ग्राममा पस्नु अनावश्यक थियो । तर अन्त जस्तै उक्त ग्राममा पनि मालपोत उठाउन ‘चाटमट’ हरू पस्लान् र खिचोला गर्लान् भन्ने आशङ्काले अबदेखि उक्त ग्राममा ‘चाटमट’ले नपस्नु’ भनी स्पष्ट निर्देश गरिएको हो । यसबाट ‘चाटमट’ को काम बुझ्न निकै मद्दत पाइन्छ ।

माथि उद्धृत का .इ .लगनटोलको द्वितीय शिवदेवको अमिलेखमा पनि माग, मोग आदि कर माफनी गरी बिर्ताको रूपमा पाशुपत आचार्यहरूलाई ग्राम दिइएको कुरा परेको छ । त्यहाँ पनि ‘चाटमट’नामप्रवेश्येन’ भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।

यसै गरी धरमपुर, चांगु, यङ्गालहिटी, देउपाटन, अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वर, वज्रधर, यागबहाल, बलम्बू आदि ठाउँका अमिलेखहरूमा पनि अनुग्रह गरी जग्गा दिँदा यहाँ चाटमटले नपस्नु मनी लेखिएको छ । यी सबै अमिलेखका उद्धरणसमेत दिई विचार गर्दा लेख लामो हुने हुनाले ती अमिलेखमध्ये केहीका संक्षिप्त चर्चा मात्र यहाँ गर्दैछु ।

चांगुको शिवदेव अंशुवर्माको अमिलेखमा स्थानीय वनदुर्गको सुरक्षाको लागि बन्दोवस्त मिलाएको कुरा परेको छ । त्यहाँ 'अयं ----- अचाटमटप्रवेशयो वसतये कृषिकर्मणो च कोट्टो वः प्रतिपादितः' मनी मनिएको छ । कोट्टमित्र चाटमटले नपस्नु मनी बन्धेज बाँधिएको हुनाले त्यस कोट्टका बासिन्दाहरूलाई मालपोत मिनाह गरिएको यताबाट देखिन्छ । चाटमटको अर्थ पुलीस र सिपाही भएको भए किल्लामित्र 'चाटमट' ले नपस्नु भन्ने कुरा निरर्थक हुने थियो ।

यङ्गालहिटीको अमिलेखमा विर्ताखम्मा दिइएका तीन ग्रामसहित भुवनेश्वर देवमन्दिर दक्षिणकोलीग्रामद्रङ्गलाई सुम्पेको कुरा परेको छ । त्यहाँ '----- ग्रामैरभिरग्रहार-त्वेनोत्सृष्टश्चाटमटाप्रवेशः----- सहितं प्रतिमुक्तं' मनी लेखिएको छ ।

नरेन्द्रदेवको देउपाटनको अमिलेखमा 'याश्च गोष्ठीयो नवगृहप्रतिबद्धास्ताश्च चाटमतानाम-प्रवेश्याः' भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ । गोष्ठीहरूमा चाटमटले नपस्नु भन्ने उक्त कुरा फवाट्ट हेर्दा निरर्थक जस्तो देखिन्छ । तर माथि चर्चा गरिएको प्रसङ्गबाट यसको अभिप्राय नवगृह (वर्तमान देउपाटनभैरव) मित्रका सबै गोष्ठीका जग्गाहरूमा पोता माफी गरिएको हो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ ।

नरेन्द्रदेवको अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वरको अमिलेखमा हंसगृहद्रङ्गका लोकपाल स्वामीको पूजा-आजु यात्रा आदिको लागि रकम तोकिएको छ । त्यहाँ पनि 'चाटमटाप्रवेश' मनी मनिएको छ ।

नरेन्द्रदेवको पशुपति वज्रधर र पाटन यागबहालको अमिलेखमा भिक्षुसङ्घलाई विर्ता दिइएको कुरा परेको छ । त्यहाँ पनि 'चाटमतानामप्रवेश्येन' भन्ने उल्लेख परेको छ ।

द्वितीय शिवदेवको बलम्बूको अमिलेखमा नारायण मन्दिरसम्बन्धी जग्गा शीताटी-द्रङ्गलाई सुम्पि दिइएको कुरा छ । त्यहाँ पनि 'चाटमतानामाग्रावेश्येन' मनी लेखिएको छ ।

यसै गरी भारतका अमिलेखहरूमा पनि चाटमटको उल्लेख कर माफी गरी विर्ता आदि दिइएको प्रसङ्गमै आएको छ । २७

यति कुराबाट गाउँ-गाउँमा गई सरकारी मालपोत उठाउने काम 'चाटमट' नामक

अधिकारीहरूले गर्दा रहेछन् भन्ने स्पष्ट बुझिन्छ ।

गाउँ-गाउँमा गई मालपोत उठाउन जाँदा सरकारी धाक रवाफ देखाई चाटभटहरूले अनुचित रूपमा रैतीलाई पनि सम्भावना थियो । यसै हुँदा कायस्थलाई जस्तै 'चाट' लाई पनि दुनियाँलाई पनिहरूको पढि०क्तमा शास्त्रकारहरूले गणना गरेका छन् । जस्तै -

चाटतस्करदुर्वृतमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।

पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षोत् कायस्थेश्च विशेषतः ॥*

(चाट, चोर, दुर्जन, हरामज्यादाहरूलाई दुनियाँ पनि नदिनु । विशेष गरेर कायस्थ -
हरूलाई दुनियाँ पनि नदिनु ।)

कायस्थ जस्तै चाटभट चाहिँ असैनिक कर्मचारी थिएनन् । 'चाटभट' सैनिक रूपका कर्मचारी थिए । यसो हुँदा अभिलेखमा 'चाटभट' 'भट-चाट' आदि रूप प्रयुक्त गरिएका पाइन्छ । शास्त्रकारले चाहिँ 'चाट' शब्दको मात्रै प्रयोग गरेका छन् ।

शौलिक, गौलिक -

ठाउँ-ठाउँमा शुल्क (भन्सार) उठाउन शुल्कशाला (भन्सारचौकी) रहेका हुन्थे । शुल्क उठाउने काममा नियुक्त अधिकारी 'शौलिक' कहलाउँथे । ठाउँ-ठाउँमा सुरक्षाको लागि 'गुल्म' चौकी रहन्थे । गुल्ममा नियुक्त अधिकारी गौलिक कहलाउँथे । बाटो-घाटोमा व्यापारीहरूको सुरक्षाको काम पनि 'गुल्म' ले गर्ने हुनाले यस्ता चौकीहरूले पनि व्यापारी-हरूसँग केही कर उठाउँथे । कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्रमा 'पण्याध्यक्षा' प्रकरणमा व्यापारीहरूसँग लिने करको पढि०क्तमा 'गुल्म' नामक करको पनि उल्लेख परेको छ । (कौ०अ० २।१६) दिव्यावदानमा राजा कनकवर्णले व्यापारीहरूसँग कर नलिने विचार गर्दा यस्तो वाक्य बोलेका छन् - "यन्वहं सर्ववणिजोऽशुल्कान् अशुल्मान् मुंचेयम् ।

(मिथिला- विद्यापीठद्वारा प्रकाशित 'दिव्यावदान' को १८१ पृ .)

(म सारा व्यापारीहरूउपर 'शुल्क' र 'गुल्म' माफनी गरिदिन्छु ।)

यति कुराबाट व्यापारीहरूसँग 'गुल्म' कर लिइन्थ्यो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । अंशुवर्माको टिस्टुड० र भट्टवालको अभिलेखमा शौलिक गौलिक अधिकारीको उल्लेख आएको छ ।^{२८}

इत्यादि कुरा विचार गर्दा लिच्छविकालमा जनतामा कर भार अलि बढी नै थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ । तर ती करहरू धेरै अधिदेसि प्रचलित देखिन्छन् । मानदेवदेसिका शासकहरूले नयाँ कर लाएको उदाहरण एउटा पनि पाइँदैन । बरू पछिका शासकहरूले कर माफनी गर्दै

गएका उदाहरण भने प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् । यसै हुँदा पछि मल्लकालसम्म पुगेपछि त करव्यवस्थाले अर्कै रूप लिएको थियो ।

टिप्पणी

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- २२। नोलीले 'तैलकर' पाठ कपाउनु भएको छ । तर मूलसंग भिडाई हेर्दा

शुद्ध पाठ 'चैलकरं' ठहरिएको छ ।

२३। नोली, नेपुलिज् इन्स्क्रिप्सन्स्, संख्या ५५, पृ० ७३

२४। पूणिमा, अङ्क १६, पृ० २६२

२५। पूणिमा, अङ्क १४, पृ० १२१

२६। पूणिमा, अङ्क ६, पृ० १२

२७। "----- श्रीमहाराजहस्तिना ---अग्रहार उत्सृष्टः-----अचाटभटप्रावेश्यः"

जबलपुरको अमिलेख, राजबलि पाण्डे, हिस्टोरिकल याण्ड लिटररी इन्स्क्रिप्सन्स्,

पृ. ६१ महाराजशर्वनाथ :-----समाज्ञापयति ---एष ग्रामो मया ----- अचाटभट-

प्रावेश्यः--- प्रतिपादितः

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Review Article¹

Kirkpatrick's An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal

Prayag Raj Sharma

A. The raison d'être of the Mission.

Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission to Nepal was undertaken in early 1793. His itinerary lasted less than seven weeks, from February 13 till April 3. As the preface of the book states and as is common knowledge now, the cause of the mission lay, as far as Nepal was concerned, in the danger that was looming large in the north just before the start of the Nepal - Tibet war of 1792 A.D. Nepal wanted military help from the English government of Bengal to repulse the Chinese attack in the event of such a situation arising and accordingly wrote an urgent appeal to Calcutta. The Government of Bengal during all these years was very keen to negotiate friendly relations with Nepal. It was motivated by a desire to further English trade with Nepal and Tibet. A little before the mission at the time of Prithvinarayan Shah, the English, out of impatience, even tried a military intervention in Nepal, which resulted in Kinloch's mounting an abortive expedition against the valley of Nepal in 1767. The British interest in the trade with Tibet was comprehensive. This is spelled out in detail in No. L of Appendix II of Kirkpatrick's book in a memorandum submitted to the Governor General of Bengal. It begins as follows: "There is good reason to believe, that, the woollen staples of Great Britain might be disposed of to the inhabitants of the latter country to a very considerable amount." Two Himalayan States were regarded ideal for conducting this trade.

Nepal was considered a better approach or access route to Tibet than Bhutan because of the latter's discouraging attitude to the conduct of Bengal's trade with Tibet through Bhutan.² Although the English had succeeded in sending Bogles's Tibetan mission in 1774 via Bhutan this turned out no better in essence than the treaty of commerce concluded with Nepal some years later. The age old entrepot trade between India and Tibet used to be conducted via Nepal. But the emergence of Gorkha in Nepal at this time and the unsettled state of politics, which ensued, had stopped the use of this route, and trade conducted by Indian traders along this route came to a grinding halt. In the memorandum mentioned earlier the maintenance of four trading outposts was suggested in Nepal at Listee, Phullak, Rasuwa and Chhinachhin by the English with the concurrence of Nepal government so as to enable it to cover the trade with eastern, middle and western Tibet. It was also suggested that attempts to open the route from Bhutan must

continue in order to gain a more direct access to Lhasa, which, however would not have diminished Nepal's role in the trade with western Tibet. Because trading caravans to western Tibet from Bengal were regarded to fare better via Nepal Valley than even via Almora in Kumaun, which was also under Nepal at that time. But all this far ranging planning must have proved highly frustrating to the British as the trade could neither be operated from the Nepal side, nor from Bhutan,³ as the latter was also extremely suspicious of the English in Bengal. Thus the route to Tibet never worked out successfully until the end of the 19th century A.D.

To return to our issue, the long endeavours of the English seemed to produce results at last on the sudden turn of events affecting Nepal's relations with Tibet and China in the wake of the war. A treaty of commerce between Nepal and Bengal government was concluded in March 1792. But matters did not markedly improve in actual practice. In the summer of 1792, China launched its offensive by attacking Nepal's post in Kukurghat. The menace grew bigger and bigger as the Chinese penetrated deep inside the Nepalese boundary via Kerung and Rasuwa and came as far down as Dhaibung.⁴ In order to avoid total defeat and save the capital, Nepal turned to the English in Bengal for assistance. It was a golden opportunity for the English to put their men inside the Nepalese boundary, a long cherished dream. The English had depended before this, for every bit of information on Nepal, which was then a terra incognita, on individual accounts of such men as mendicants, pilgrims and merchants. But this opportunity also created no small dilemma to the English. As Kirkpatrick writes, the company government would not have felt easy about the idea of the Chinese overrunning Nepal and occupying it permanently. A hasty step on the other hand might have heavily damaged the English commercial interests in China. The Dalai Lama wrote from Tibet at the same time to the Governor General, who was then William Cornwallis, holding Nepal responsible for the situation and asking him not to go to the aid of Nepal. He pointed out that in this event the English would risk worse treatment of their trade interests in China from the Chinese Emperor. Ultimately, the English decided not to ruin their trading prospects in China and thus in Tibet, as the latter was a dependency of China. So they compromised and offered instead to assume a mediatory role in the conflict between Nepal and Tibet. The Governor General wrote similar letters to the court of Nepal, to the Dalai Lama and to the Chinese Vizier saying that his government would try to maintain friendly relations with all the powers in India, especially with its contiguous neighbours, as long as its own security was not threatened. Although, this news may have pleased Tibet, it was a very distressing reply for Nepal at this critical hour. The

Nepalese court had turned to the English for help not without reluctance. There was a strong and considerable group in this court, which was deeply opposed to befriending the English in Bengal. This anti-British group appears to have been greatly influenced by Prithvinarayan Shah's thinking on the subject. Prithvinarayan Shah had said in his Divya Upadesa: "This kingdom is like a yam, sandwiched between two stones. Maintain very friendly relations with the Chinese emperor. Also maintain friendly relations with the emperor of the sea of the south. But he is very shrewd ----- one day (his) army will come (to attack)."⁵ In the face of the English indifference, the anti English clique in the Nepalese court seems to have got the upper hand in resisting further contacts with the British. It is likely that peace with the Chinese army was concluded hastily without telling the English anything about it owing to the pressure of this very group. The Chinese army itself was in a state of near exhaustion from scarcity and sickness and was only too glad to settle the whole thing quickly and return. When the Chinese army left Nepal in October 1792, Nepal showed unwillingness to receive the English mission in its capital and this upset the plan of the English completely. In fact, Cronwallis had named Kirkpatrick as the head of the mission and despatched him at once to Nepal. When Kirkpatrick arrived in Patna on his way to Nepal, he was detained for several months there because Nepal did not want him to go to Nepal any longer. It was only on the great insistence of the English that the Nepalese finally agreed to receive Kirkpatrick and his team.

The mission was a complete failure as far as achieving any concrete political or commercial settlement between the two governments was concerned. The interests and pre-occupations of the two governments were at cross-purposes. The British were moved solely by commercial interest in Tibet. The Nepalese court, on the other hand, did not attach much value to opening up trade through its territory for the benefit of the Indians or the English in India. This was considered harmful to Nepal's task of political consolidation. Prithvinarayan himself had laid the foundations of this policy. He says in another place in his Divya Upadesa: "Do not permit Indian traders to go beyond God Prasah. If they come to our country they will definitely make our subjects paupers."⁶ Any occasional overture of Nepal towards the English used to be made in the context of a good and equitable bargain; but to admit Indians or the representatives of the English into Nepal at this hour was beyond any consideration. Nepal, in fact, wanted to conduct the intermediary trade between India and Tibet herself through her own traders.⁷

Prithvinarayan Shah predicted that greater danger would come to Nepal from the south rather than from the north. This view was not given up even at the time of the actual Chinese invasion of

Nepal. The Gorkhalis were not unaware that their own excessive greed in Tibet had caused the Chinese intervention. Otherwise China was a distant neighbour concerned with its own affairs. This thinking seems to have prevailed even while signing the peace treaty with the Chinese army.

The subsequent political events in the south, which climaxed in the Anglo - Nepal war of 1814 - 1816 and the consequent stabilisation of the border between Nepal and the Company government removed the old atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion. But the trade and commerce through Nepal was never restored as of old days. The trade dwindled. The failure to respond to the English offer by Nepal at that time no doubt proved great loss to Nepal's revenue earning. But who knows what new tensions might not have arisen from the application of the treaty of commerce for Nepal ? The English interventions in Nepal might well have been far more frequent, and widespread, and even a total annexation might have been possible under the cover of safeguarding English trade interests. Trade was thus by-passed. However, it did not prevent the English from intervening in Nepal, later, under a more open political pretext. But as the Anglo - Nepal war was fought under different circumstances, this at least saved Nepal's autonomy in running its state affairs and enabled it to retain its independent existence afterwards.

B. The Book.

Let us now take the book itself and evaluate its contents. Every word in the book is motivated by the one supreme consideration of increasing the prospects of trade and commerce with Nepal, keeping always Tibet in the background. The author says: "(Nepal) owing to its situation with regard to Tibet appears highly interesting to us in a commercial view." Although no immediate gain emerged from the mission, Kirkpatrick wrote to Cornwallis from Kathmandu saying that to send an Englishman for the first time across the jealously guarded frontiers of Nepal, thus enabling the team to form a far more accurate idea of the face of the country, had itself been no small achievement. He hoped that some day in the future the insolence and jealousy of the courtiers would end, making them more accomodating towards the English. Being aware of his limitations as well as his objectives, Kirkpatrick collected information on his journey with great avidity. His account is as good and accurate as possible in the circumstances. Anyone who has travelled to Kathmandu from Bhimphedi on foot or from Kathmandu to Trisuli will not miss the fascinating details of the journey. The conditions of these tracks have little changed even now after nearly two centuries. There are many wise observations in the book which have been validated by later developments.

In all there are nine chapters, a table of the itinerary, thirteen relevant dispatches and items arranged in three appendices, one map and fifteen drawings in the book. Chapters I, II, III, and V describe the route of the journey. They are not mere descriptions of the track but contain a host of additional information related to the main theme i.e. commerce. The book describes various tracks leading to the valley of Kathmandu and their relative advantages accompanied by careful notes of distances, the number of days required for the journey, check-posts and hamlets. The road Kirkpatrick took while going into Nepal was not the popularly traversed route. Kirkpatrick went via Bara district over the Chure into the valley of Makawanpur and turned west to join the main road at Hetaura. The main route lay south of Hetaura to Garh Parsa and Alau and on to Sugauli, which was only slightly different from the present day Hetaura - Birganj - Raxaul route. Birganj was established only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Garh-Parsa was situated to the north-west of Birganj just where the forests began. The fort of Alau lay 5 miles to the west of Birganj. Thus the old track passed through Amlekhganj which is called Bechiacori and Simra near Addhabhar and passed slightly to the west of the present route. That people crossed the Nepalese border at Sugauli explains why the neighbouring village of Bettia became a centre of Nepalese of the dissident groups for refuge and political activity. Thus Kirkpatrick foresaw the strategic role of Hetaura in the development of commerce in Nepal, a view which is fully vindicated to-day. He describes another route from the Chitlang valley to Kathmandu which went via Pharping. This route turned south-east just a little before Chitlang and although it was a little longer, was easier to travel and was popular with merchants. Those who wanted to travel fast took the shorter Candragiri track. Many now have forgotten the Pharping road. But even now the Terai traders bring their flocks of goats by this route.

The general lay-out of the land is never missed in the accounts. The team possessed elementary equipment for measuring direction, temperature and for guessing the altitude. Distance was calculated by relying on watches. Elevation, acclivity and declivity were duly noted. One now admires how close their estimates were to the truth. A map of the journey was drawn which is accurate for the parts actually traversed. For more distant places knowledge of which was gained by hearsay, the precision falls wide of the mark. Still they had managed to mention so many places which in itself is remarkable. Kirkpatrick is perhaps the first foreigner to describe the scenery of the mountains and to remark on the view of the Himalayas (Himma-leh). This has become a great tourist attraction now-a-days. He was highly impressed by the resource of the Terai (Turryani) forests in producing timber and elephants. He says, no timber in the world would beat the

timber from these forests. It could be transported by water to Calcutta floating logs down the rivers Bagmati and Gandaki, which, he observes, were quite suitable for this purpose in this area. Timber has been one of the main exports of Nepal throughout, but its cheap transportation by water was not properly developed. His careful description of rivers and streams was always made with the idea of studying their navigability or other uses. Prospects of fishing is one example of this. He mentions the absence of yet another easy and economical mode of transportation, that of wheels. The introduction of wheels in any form in the valley took place only in the present century. One sees push-carts on wheels very commonly in the city of Kathmandu now-a-days. Their popularity derives from the volume of goods which they can transport swiftly and cheaply from one part of the city to another. It is in fact an indispensable companion of improved roads. But their introduction came so late. To return to forests, the book gives a distressing history of the ill use of their resources in Nepal leading to their systematic destruction. Kirkpatrick mentions that forests were let for grazing by the cattle of the bordering villages for a small sum of money annually. Another main income from the forest was elephants which abounded in large numbers in the Makawanpur area. But this resource also dried up with the indiscriminate killing and thinning down of forests.

The book also attempts to present a good account of vegetation, herbs and chemical plants. All the names are given in the Nepali of that time. He describes the qualities and special properties of each type as attributed in local beliefs. Medicinal herbs have also been described. Reference to charas (Cherris) making is not omitted and its cultivation in large quantities in western Nepal (a fact still true nowadays), is duly mentioned. He similarly describes the animals and birds, habitats and places of origin of which are clearly defined.

The study of agriculture and land are his other main interests. He mentions the chief crop varieties, the fertility of the soil, the amount of production etc. He estimates the revenue yield to the government as being very low. This was because a large part of the land was jagir land granted to the servicemen of various categories, army men, nobility and Brahmans from where no revenue was earned. Rice was one of the chief items of Nepalese export to Bihar and Bengal even in those days. He lists the market price of rice in the hills as eight pathis of husked rice for one rupee. Related directly to commerce is his observation regarding the virtual non-existence of a consumer's market. Each family produced its needs itself. A serviceman had these necessities supplied by his tenant. The class of serviceman who lived entirely on their salary unsupported by land was virtually

unknown. Kirkpatrick describes difficulties in procuring provisions on his journey even for a single day if accompanying Nepalese officials had not intervened, which means that people did not grow enough from their land. If there were a few surplus regions, their supplies did not reach the scarcity-hit areas because of poor modes of transportation. His note on vegetable cultivation is interesting for what it has to reveal. Potatoes appear to have been a new crop and Nepalese farmers were ignorant of the method of preserving seeds. So, every year potato seeds had to be procured from Patna. The valley knew very few of the vegetables which are known to-day except cabbage and Tibetan turnip, tarul (an edible root) and wild asparagus. Kirkpatrick's eyes did not miss the two fruit-rich regions of Pharping and Nuwakot valley. He gives special credit to orange cultivation in the western hills and in the enclosed gardens in the Nepal valley.

From his account, it becomes clear that the commercial picture has not changed substantially. Nepal's types of exports and imports remain almost the same with a few additions. The exports consisted of rice, timber, herbs and products of Tibet. The imports included textiles, spices, sandalwood, vermilion powder and metals. Nepalese currency did not fare as badly as it does to-day in maintaining a parity of exchange with the Calcutta rupee. It was 7.8 per cent less than the Indian rupee. The imports were not on a staggering scale, imbalancing its exports as they are to-day. People had simple habits and lived on home products. The use of the word Kachar (Kuchar) by Kirkpatrick for lower Tibet or the Himalayan valleys is curious and is probably intended to mean the "frinze" (of Tibet). Kachar is now used only to describe the last range of hills just before the Bhritrimadesh in some parts of central Nepal.

Kirkpatrick did not encounter any mining site where work was being done. He passed through the famous Tama-Khani in the Chitlang valley where work had long been stopped. He has a high opinion of Nepalese copper. In spite of this fact, Nepalese copper was less competitive in the Calcutta market than imported overseas copper because of the higher cost of its production. This observation gives the impression that mining of copper in Nepal had received a set-back just because of the unfavourable market conditions. Production of copper in Nepal was barely enough for home consumption. In fact, stringent methods were adopted to stop its being smuggled outside the country.⁸ He also noticed a few ores of iron and lead, and refers to stone mines including slate mines. The main obstacle in the way of their proper exploitation (in respect of stones) was transportation. He makes no fuss about exploding the myth of gold mines in Nepal.

The chief crafts and industries have been mentioned as being carpentry, metal works, paper, brick and spirit distilling. It is interesting to note that Nepali carpenters were then ignorant of the use of the saw. The popular brew was jand as it still is.

The medium of exchange in Commerce, that is money, is described at some length with a brief history of the great source of earning that it once was to Nepal. Coins of gold, silver and copper are mentioned. The rupee consisted, unlike now, of sixteen annas. But it was not unusual for the rupee to vary either below or above the fixed standard slightly. He mentions a small coin called the chidan (cheedum), a two hundred and eighty-eighth part of a rupee. Perhaps it is the same as the damma, the denomination of which was laid down by an Italian missionary, P. Costantine da Loro, who spent some months in Nepal in 1740. It is as follows:

1 Mandarmeli (mohar) = 4 Zochi (suki)
 1 Zochi = 32 Damme (dam)
 1 Damme = 4 Giava (Jawa)⁹

From this denomination, a dam would be a hundred and twenty-eight part of a mohar and a two hundred and fifty-sixth part of a rupee. The more widely used mohar had a Nepali (or Newari) equivalent called the adhidan, which is totally out of use now.

There are other subjects not directly useful to commerce, but of general interest, dealt with in the book. These include history, government, people, festivals, architecture and historical places and forts. A word list of 28 pages in Nepali and Newari and 4 pages in Magar and Limbu is also furnished to illustrate the comparative vocabulary in these languages. The greater part of the chapter on history is based on a Vamsavali which is held to be more reliable than many later versions of these chronicles. Two of his passing remarks seem to have started a fallacious belief. One is his comparison of Newar women with the Nair women of south India, which led some historians later to seek the origin of the Newars in that quarter. Another is his assumption that no Muslim had ever subjugated this Hindu kingdom and this led historians to overlook the invasion of Shams ud-din Illyas in the middle of the 14th century A.D. The account of the people is not complete, but it is generally illuminating about those whom it describes. His Kath Bhotias most likely indicate the Tamangs, whom Hodgson later described as Murmis. The word Kath is perhaps derived from the some root as Kanth is derived, meaning thereby that these are the Bhotias living in the valley's immediate surroundings.

Kirkpatrick has described almost all the hamlets that he visited as being places of "mean appearance". He appears to be a

man of big cities. He remained unimpressed by the grand architecture of Nepal. For referring to the Basantapur palace he says: "Even the Rajah's house being but a sorry building and claiming no particular notice the streets are narrow and as filthy as Benares." This is exactly the opposite view of what passionate Indologists like Sylvain Levi and Percy Brown had to say about this architecture and Nepalese towns in later years. But Kirkpatrick was also the person to have coined the famous phrase on Nepal: "There are as many temples as houses, and as many idols as inhabitants." He was able to inspect some of the Nepalese forts on his way and these did not strike him as being strong in structure or large in capacity. This is perhaps true. The Nepalese had defended these forts or fought battles against their enemies not on the structural strength of these forts but by taking advantage of the natural defences and with their sheer bravery.

The list of festivals indicate a great change since his time. This is because many of these are no longer observed in the valley. Almost all the festivals were performed in the style of journeys and several of them were connected with streams wherein the journey was undertaken from its mouth to its source. One such festival connected with the Bagmati started from Chovar and ended in Bagdvara.

In the present review only a few such points have been selected which are in my opinion interesting because they show a change between then and now or illustrate the continued presence of our characteristic problems during all these years. Kirkpatrick shows great powers of observation and deductive logic in what he wrote in such a brief time. Accounts which are not put in the proper order or quite untrue are not wanting in the book, but this does not diminish the importance of the book in any way. The relative distance of various places based on hearsay evidence is quite erroneous. Elsewhere, there are weak remarks not supported by facts. For example, his account of the severity of frost in the valley which could have frozen the tanks or the reading of temperature in the valley at 87° for the month of March are plainly exaggerations. The accompanying drawings in the book, being various illustrations of the people, landscape, monuments and weaponry, do not correspond to reality. The distortion may have crept in from their being redone by an artist who prepared them from the rough field sketches of the author. The most glaring of all mistakes committed in the book, and the last to be expected from the author, is in recording the year of Prithvinarayan Shah's death as 1771 and Pratapa Simha's death as 1775. In fact, the last figure is the correct date for Prithvinarayan Shah's death and 1777, the year of the death of his son. For some one who belonged to the same generation as these two last kings this is surely an unpardonable blunder.

We may conclude this review by mentioning the simplicity of the Nepalese folks to which the author has alluded and greatly praised. In social intercourse the officers in the army spoke to their junior ranks in the most unreserved and unaffected manners; and the juniors addressed their seniors equally frankly. This was to be seen everywhere, between the civil and the military as well as between the low and high officers. When they encamped for the night at a site on their journey, the tent being insufficient for all, the accompanying Nepalese officials quickly raised a hut from the freshly cut branches of trees or went to sleep under the trees making no fuss about the discomfort. Are not our folks still the most cheerful and the most enduring people in the world ?

NOTES

1. Kirkpatrick, Colonel: An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, the Substance of Observations Made During a Mission to that Country in the Year 1793; Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969 (reprint); pp xix and 386; 1 map; 15 illustrations.
2. Markham, Clements: The Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa; Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971; p. ixviii.
3. Refer to Pemberton's (1838) and Ashley Eden's (1864) missions to Bhutan. See also A. Deb's Cooch Behar and Bhutan in the context of Tibetan Trade in Kailash, a journal of Himalayan Studies: Volume I, no. 1 (1973), Kathmandu: pp. 80 - 88.
4. Yogi, Naraharinath: Itihasama Sandhipatra Samgraha; pt.i; Kathmandu, 1965, pp. 17 - 20.
5. Baral, Leelanateshwar: Life and Writings of Prithvinarayan Shah; Thesis submitted for Ph.D. degree, London, University, 1964, p. 25.
6. Baral: Ibid., p. 27.
7. Regmi, M.C.: A Study in Nepali Economic History; Manjushri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1971, p. 147.
8. Regmi, M.C.: op. cit.; appendix G, p. 219.
9. Rhodes, N.G.: "The smallest coins in the world", Spink's Numismatic Circular; March, 1973, p. 100.

Book Department

A. Short Reviews

Samten G. Karmay, The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon; London Oriental Series Volume 26; Oxford University Press; London, 1972; xi and 365 pages with 8 illustrations and 1 map.

Bon-pos believe that Bon pre-dates Buddhism in Tibet. This belief is comparable to the Buddhists' belief that Buddhism really took root in Tibet at the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Neither belief is based on what in the West would be considered historical facts. Whatever its antiquity Bon has survived up to the present in varying manifestations--systematized and unsystematized--not only in Tibet but also in areas such as Nepal and the Na-khi regions of South-West China.

Bon has been much less studied than Buddhism or Lamaism by Western and Indian scholars. It is true that as long ago as 1880 A. Schiefner brought out his Das Weisse Nāga-Hunderttausend in the Mémoires de l'Académie de Saint Petersburg. This was followed between 1924 and 1949 by A.H. Francke's translations of seven chapters of the Gzer-myig, A book of the Tibetan bon-pos in the review Asia Major. Then in 1950 H. Hoffmann published, at Wiesbaden, Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion, a very useful summary but which was based primarily on Tibetan Buddhists' accounts and opinions of the Bon-po. More general studies of Tibetan civilisation have also some pages devoted to the study of Bon-- for instance R.A. Stein, Tibetan Civilisation, London, 1972, p. 229 - 247, and G. Tucci in G. Tucci and W. Heissig, Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie, Paris, 1973, p. 271 - 316. It was in fact only after 1959 that real collaboration between Bon-po and Western scholars began. David Snellgrove, after inviting two Bon-pos from India to London to work with him, published at the Oxford University Press in 1967, that remarkable book The Nine Ways of Bon, which represented a great step forward in our knowledge of Bon doctrines. One of the Tibetan scholars who worked with Snellgrove is the author of the book under review. The other, Tenzin Namdak, has recently presented to the library of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies at Tribhuvan University, sixty-five volumes of Bon texts reprinted in India through the efforts of the Tibetan Bon-po Foundation at Ochgat, H.P., and which we are at present gratefully cataloguing. Before closing this brief survey of Bon studies in India and the West, perhaps I may draw attention to an article which is most important for the study of the difficult problem of Buddhist - Bon relationships in the early period of Tibetan history. I refer to Ariane

Macdonald's Une Lecture du Pelliot Tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047 et 1290, Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroñ-bcan sgam-po, published in Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou, Paris, A. Maisonneuve, 1971, p. 190 - 391.

In the work under review Mr. Samten Karmay has chosen to translate into English from the mass of literature available "one single account of the developments of Bon from the beginning up to the present, as prepared by the Bon-pos themselves" (p. xi). The title of this text in Tibetan is Legs-shad rin-po-che'i mdzod dpyod-ldan dga'-baki char which means in English "Precious Treasury of Good Sayings, pleasant rain for the wise". The author of the Tibetan text, Grub-dbang bkra-shis rgyal-mtshan dri-med snying-po, was born in Khams in 1859 and died in 1935. The work in question was begun in 1922 and is one of Five Treasures composed by the same author. An ardent follower of the Rdzogs chen-po, when he died he reputedly left no body behind him, so he is known as 'Ja' lus-pa. He is also said to be the only Bon-po scholar who ever had pupils from the Yellow Hat sect. The text used by Samten Karmay was preserved by the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris. It is a block-print of 274 folios made at Shar-rdza in Khams. The whole work consists of seven sections, details of which are furnished by S.K. in his Introduction. It is perhaps useful to summarize them here. They are: 1.) How the universe and living beings came into existence. Different views on the question are related at length; and there is an extensive description of the land of 'Ol-mo lung-ring in Stag-gzig, important as the center of civilisation as opposed to Kailasa, center of the earth. 2.) The life of the Teacher Gshen-rab mi-bo, protector of the present age. 3.) The history of the Gsang-sngags and Rdzogs-pa Chen-po as taught by 'Chi-med gtsug phud, alias Gsal-ba, i.e. Gshen-rab. 4.) The genealogy of the Shakya clan and of the Tibetan kings; the ancestry of Confucius; the rulers of Me-nyag and Mongolia; and the genealogies of the Dmu-shen, Bru, Zhu, Spa, Rme'u and Khyung of Tibet. 5.) How Bon doctrines spread from 'Ol-mo lung-ring to other countries and particularly to Tibet. Gri-gum's persecution of Bon in the Gtsang area and its consequences: the hiding of texts, etc. 6.) The restoration of Bon power by Spu-lde gung-rgyal, Gri-gum's son. Bon ascendancy up till the middle of the eighth century. The second persecution of Bon, this time due to king Khri-srong lde-btsan: again texts were hidden. 7.) Details of the re-discoverers of texts hidden in Gtsang at the beginning of the tenth century. Re-affirmation of Bon doctrines and the foundation of monastic establishments in Gtsang and other parts of Tibet. The traditional Bon chronology concerning the future duration of Gshen-rab's reachings concludes this section and the book. S.K.'s translation--his primary concern has been with History as it is understood in the West--begins in the middle of section 4). It continues throughout the following sections but leaves

out the prophecies concerning the future duration of Gshen-rab's teachings.

In his Introduction S.K. gives a very useful summary of the source materials used by the author when composing different sections of his work. The relevant part of the Tibetan text is given in transliteration between pages 201 - 348, and the English translation with notes occupies pages 3 - 192. There is a useful glossary (p. 349 - 352)--perhaps too brief--and well-composed indexes of the names of Divinities and Earthly Beings (p. 354 - 365), also a good map showing the location of Bon monasteries and hermitages. The illustrations are well chosen and the book is well produced. This is altogether a very good work which illustrates in a most encouraging way the vitality of present-day Bonpo studies.

A.W. Macdonald

K.R. Van Kooij, Worship of the Goddess According to the Kālikāpurāṇa, Part I, A Translation with an Introduction and Notes of Chapters 54-69, being Volume Quantum Decimum of Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, edited by J. Gonda and H.W. Obbink; Leiden; E.J. Brill; 1972; x, 197 pages.

An annotated English translation of chapters 54-69 of the Kālikāpurāṇa, based on two printed editions and three manuscripts, occupies the greater part of this book (p. 39-182). The Kālikāpurāṇa (henceforth KP) became famous for not very reputable reasons as long ago as 1799 when W.C. Blaquiére published in the fifth volume of Asiatic Researches, p. 369 ff., an article entitled "The Rudhirādhyāya or Sanguinary Chapter translated from the Calica Puran". There was, of course, more to the KP than just descriptions of human sacrifice. However the dense jungles of Sanskrit formed by the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas for a long time discouraged penetration. H.H. Wilson, it is true, did, with the help of pandits, some analyses and translations between 1825 and 1840. But it was only in 1938 that V. Raghavan published in English a quite elaborate summary of the contents of the KP and raised the problem of the absence, from the available printed text of the KP, of quotations from the KP in the Dharmāsastra Nibandhas. "Was the original KP a longer text?", he asked. In 1963 R.C. Hazra advanced the theory that there must have been two KP's, the earlier being roughly 7th century A.D. and the present, later one, full of Tantric practices, dating from the 10th and 11th centuries. The author of the work under review does not think that the whole of the present text forms a unity. He writes: "more important than establishing a date for the latest redaction ... is to consider the stage of development of the various stories and rituals related in the work within the history of Hinduism, on the grounds of a thorough analysis of them and a careful comparison

with similiar parts in other works" (p.3,4). If Hazra's work remains the most considerable in the field of KP studies, mention should also be made of the use of the KP as a source by P.V. Kane in those parts of his History of Dharmaśāstra dealing with Durgā pūjā, the sixteen upacāras and some Tantric practices.

The fragment translated by Mr. van Kooij (chapters 70-80 will follow in Volume II) is from the second half of the KP and concerns ceremonies and rites in which the Goddess in her various forms plays the central role. This is in the author's words "one of the most elaborate reports on devī worship" (p.6). These chapters are given some unity by the fact that it is Siva himself who delivers the instructions. He exposes the complicated ritual procedures not to Pārvatī but to Bhrngi and Mahākāla, his two sons reborn as monkey-faced human beings named Vetāla and Bhairava. Cursed, they had fallen into this low state; and the only way to regain their divine condition of ganapati, was the practice of the rituals of worship of the Goddess, Siva's consort and their own mother. As Mr. van Kooij remarks: "Hence it is a real sādhana, a means towards to realisation of a particular aim and in consequence the two are styled sādhakas, adepts." (Ibid.)

The author in his introduction divides the complicated amalgam of cults found in this text into three categories 1) Common worship (sāmānyapūjā) widespread in India among Vaisnavas and Saivas well as among the Saktas, and which is validated here for worship of the goddesses of Kāmarūpa 2) Orgiastic rituals which were long elbowed out of the brahmanical field 3) Descriptions of famous festivals like the Durgāpūjā. He has analysed with a lucidity which is admirable the co-existence in the text of the KP of these three traditions which he designates as "the sectarian, the heterodox and the local ones." (p.10) He distinguishes, in the ritual of common worship, preparatory acts, meditation, worship proper and conclusion (blotting out of the mandala, etc.). It should be noted that little attention is in fact paid in this text to temple-worship. For all the individual worshipper seemingly requires is a yantra on which the deity can descend; a seat for himself; a jar for the arghya; and flowers, eatables, etc., to be offered to the deity. The author then devotes some space to magic practices, which in this context are principally prayers for protection of the individual's body to ensure long life, fulfilment of wishes, etc. and the obtaining of supernatural powers (siddhis).

The heterodox tradition sanctions the use of wine and meat as well as sexual intercourse. The results which the adepts of this tradition can acquire are, in the author's words, "far more impressive; happiness, political power, a radiating body like

Kāma's, the power to seduce women are faculties by the side of which the mere quitting of one's debts grow pale indeed. It seems that the KP is inclined to accept that the heterodox cults are really worth while, although it remains true to the general tendency found in the Purānas to stimulate the performance of the old brahmanical sacrifices and the attendance to the established forms of social behaviour " (p. 28, 29). However only the Goddess and no other god can share a sacrifice of the left form.

The author has many interesting things to say about the nature of the Goddess. He points out that the KP " although mainly occupying itself with the region of Kāmarūpa, is still one of the sources of the tradition of the so-called four seats (pīṭha) places sacred to the Goddess, together with texts such as the Devī P., the Yogini Tantra, but also the Hevajra Tantra and the Sādhnamālā. The four seats are Uddiyāna (in Gandhāra), Jālandhara (situated in the Panjab), Pūrnasaila (situation unknown), and Kāmarūpa (Assam). In the first chapters of the KP the origin of these four seats is linked up with the myth of the dismemberment of Sati, Siva's consort. In the fragment translated the adept is informed that the same cult of the Goddess is practised in each of these four centres (68, 43ff.; 71, 67-69). The impression is that Uddiyāna, which was a very important centre for the rise of Buddhist Tantrism, was equally a cult place of the Hindus worshipping the mountain-goddess and her consort as Umā (or Bhīmā) and Siva respectively. It is moreover probable that this centre was much older than Kāmarūpa, which can be inferred from the report of Hsuan-tsang, who while mentioning the Goddess Bhīmadevī of Gandhāra is totally silent about Kāmākhyā and her mountain in Kāmarūpa, although the Chinese monk stayed there for some time " (p. 34, 35). He suggests that rather than " to search for a background for the non-brahmanical side of this cult in the religion of the primitive tribes of Assam only, or even to connect it with the worship of an ' Ancestral Mother migrated into Assam with the migrations of the Austric peoples'", one should consider the cult of Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa as " the easternmost offshoot of a type of religiosity familiar with the inhabitants of the mountain ranges in the north of India and Pakistan...." (p. 36). Certainly much more ethnographic study of such cults is urgently required before the complicated problems of diffusion and origin can be tackled with confidence. Meanwhile we must be grateful to the author whose translations break new ground, long untilled by Indologists. His second volume will be awaited with great interest.

A.W. Macdonald

Lionel Caplan, Land and Social Change in East Nepal: A Study of Hindu - tribal relations London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970; 224 pp. with 24 tables, 15 illustrations, 4 maps, 2 appendixes, glossary and index.

This book is based on 13 months' field - study undertaken between 1964 - '65 by a professional British anthropologist. His main aims were, first, to note down how certain economic and political institutions were inter - connected in a systematic way at different points in time and, secondly, to suggest which factors contributed to bring out changes in these institutions and in the systems within which they are interconnected (p. 196)

The present book is the first full-scale attempt by an anthropologist to study Hindu-tribal problems in Nepal. It has up to now been a general trend in anthropological research in Nepal to study cultural whole of a particular ethnic group without making a comparative analytical study. Dr. Caplan is the first to come forward with a new outlook and face new problems. He has made a very comprehensive investigation, based on intensive field-work and has tried to present a complete structural and functional analysis of two cultural, ethnic groups domiciled in opposition in the same area. This was, without doubt, a very difficult undertaking in a community where there is much rivalry, hostility and cleavages. His study depicts the relationships between Brahmins and Limbus, their deep divisions due to historic confrontation over land and their interdependence in economic and political activities. It is clear from his writing that he has tried to see the Hindu-tribal problems in a broad perspective which takes into account not only the geographical and physical setting of Nepal but extends upto south Asia. He has used the terms 'Hindu' and 'tribal' for convenience of description only and does not imply that each represents a clear structural or cultural type (p. 1). Therefore, his use of the term 'Hindu' here applies to the high caste Hindu groups, Brahmins and Kshatriyas only.

The book first introduces us to the general problems of tribals. It gives a short political history of the Limbu area and discusses briefly his reasons for choosing these two ethnic groups for his study. After this introduction, he describes his field - area which included a cluster of four settlements - Angbung, Bharapa, Chitok and Dorumba in Illam district which he calls, in short, Indreni cluster. He then proceeds to study 'Land and kin groups' where he has made an analytical study of different kin groups and their real ownership of and relationship to Kipat Land. In the next chapter, he discusses in a straight-forward way how Kipat land ownership moved and is still moving to high caste Hindus and how the government's land policy is favouring them. He has brought out very critically how the cleavages have occurred between the two groups and how the high caste Hindus are trying to 'eat' the Kipat land and how Limbus are trying to preserve it.

The fifth and sixth chapters are longer and are concerned with economic and political activities between these two ethnic groups and their interdependence in these contexts. The author in these chapters has pinpointed the 'food gap' among Limbus, their recurrent and contingent expenditures, the reasons for their pledging their lands on mortgages, Limbu leadership in past and present and their changing positions due to changes in the system of land tenure. He shows that due to top caste hierarchy, religious, educational, political and economic advantages, Brahmins in contrast to Limbus, are in better and in safer positions. At the end the author has treated the Kipat land of the Limbus as an integral part of their indogeneous culture.

Though some readers may criticise this book on the grounds that it may provoke reactionary feelings between these two ethnic groups, the author is in our opinion well justified in exposing the real social structure of these two groups. It is better to draw attention to problems and to propose solutions to them rather than to hide such problems.

However, it would not be unreasonable not to agree with some of the remarks made by the author. For Instance, when he says on the subject of Brahmin marriages-" The costs of the marriage are borne by the bride's family " (p. 67) and when he states- " In the south Asian context the tribes are regarded as synonyms with the backward, the exploited and the dispossessed, the Hindus, are those who exploit and dispossess them " (p. 10), we cannot concur.

However, the book is important and valuable not only for those who are engaged in professional academic studies, but equally useful to administrators, social-workers and planners. This book not only opens up a hitherto quite unknown chapter of Hindu-tribal interaction, it also presents an account, rare in its conciseness of closed cultural complexities between two ethnic groups. It is the first book about the Nepalese land system and Kipat tenure written in a critical fashion by an anthropologist.

D.P. Rajaure
D.R. Dahal

Jesper Trier, Ancient paper of Nepal. Results of ethno-technological field work on its manufacture, uses and history with technical analyses of bast, paper and manuscripts. Jutland Archeological Society publications, volume X, 1972, 271 PP; 239 plates, 5 woodcuts, 2 maps, 13 tables, drawings, with 2 pp. danish resume.

Paper making is not a new tradition. It seems to have been developed in China about two thousand years ago and attained a high degree of perfection only a few centuries later. It reached

Japan sometime in the begining of the 7th century and Samarkand (Eastern part of the Arabian Empire) in the middle of 8th century. In Europe, it was known as late as the 11th century. Before the 7th century, the Tibetans were probably importing Chinese paper and it appears from manuscript and textual discoveries, that paper-making in Tibet was quite common two hundred years later.

A great number of libraries and museums all over the world possess oriental manuscripts, block printed items and other written and printed items on paper and parchment, palm leaves, metal tablets etc. These have been to some extent studied and published, but the actual writing materials have only rarely been closely studied. Moreover, manuscripts from Asia (viz. the Tun-huang collections, which are by far our most important sources for the early history of central Asia) do not generally mention their origin. Thus, the systematic technical or macroscopical investigations of the writing materials (i.e. paper) which the author has carried out will definitely help to establish the origins of these heterogenous collections of manuscripts. Further, such data will bring to light information concerning cultural history and the diffusion of various handicrafts and even throw light on the relations between ethnic groups and their migrations.

The author of the work under review decided to trace and study in detail the age-old techniques of paper-making before they dissapeared entirely. Even in the most isolated valleys of Nepal, Bhutan and Northern India, machine made paper is superseding handmade paper. He is quite conscious that "hitherto no systematic investigations of this subject concerning a specific area in Asia (except the spread of paper-making westward through the Chinese Turkestan along the "Silk road") have been undertaken " (p.5) and " the diffusion of paper towards Further India, Tibet and Himalayan States remain unexplored " (p.9). Frankly, very little is known to date as to how the art of paper-making spread in Tibet and the Himalaya. He chose some parts of Nepal as his field-area because he believes commonest and probably also the oldest methods in the world are to be found in Eastern and Central Nepal. Also, the author is of the opinion that with the Chinese arrival in Tibet in 1959, the paper-makers in the Himalaya have lost their Tibetan customers and thus the industry is dying.

The book contains six chapters in all. The first chapter deals with the introduction of paper in Nepal. The author, on the basis of the oldest extant Nepalese manuscripts, believes that paper was introduced in Nepal from the beginning of the 12th century. He also describes the ethnic pattern: Newar, Sunuwar,

Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Bhotia, Sherpa, the paper-makers, with geography and natural vegetation, and gives a brief history of Nepal (c. 400 A.D. -1959 A.D.). Discussing migration routes in the Himalaya and the spread of paper making, he quotes the work of Sasuke Nakao, entitled "Transmittance of cultivated plants through the Sino-Himalayan Route" in Kihara 1957 pp. 397-442 and thinks that diffusion of the paper-making industry took place along the 'Tibetan' and 'Himalayan' Arcs.

The author in his second chapter, studies the fibres used in paper-making. Paper-makers in Nepal almost exclusively use white inner bark and the bast of some closely related species of shrubs of the family Thymelaeaceae. He has also mentioned the other fibres of paper making, such as rush grass (probably sabai grass), ramie or hemp, Chiuli - "a long vine" and in Kathmandu, rice-straw, wood pulp and all sorts of waste paper.

He provides an upto date annotated bibliography which quotes and comments on the literary sources concerning paper-making in Nepal. All the source materials are arranged chronologically in order to avoid repetition. The whole work summarises the history of paper making in Nepal, during the last 150 years. The author did his field studies between 1962 and 1970 in areas such as Tambu, district of Solu; Jiri, district of Melung; Malemchigaun, district of Yolmo; Nanglingbang, district of Banglung and also in Bhurungkhel, Chhetrapati, Sundarijal and Tripureswar in the Kathmandu valley. He explains the quality of the paper and the methods and processes of paper making and their differences from place to place in detail.

Chapter V enumerates the uses of handmade paper. The various applications are enumerated according to their type and where possible, according to the area and ethnic group involved. Particular importance is attached to manuscripts. The other uses, such as books, letters, documents, single leaves for magic and ritual purposes, printed articles for secular use, are also discussed.

The author, in the last chapter, deals with a number of different technical investigations of bast from plants and papers. He has analysed 38 manuscript samples collected from different parts of Nepal together with two samples from Tibet, two from Bhutan and one from Dalhousie (N.W. India). The analyses of the macroscopic properties, the microscopical analysis and investigations of organic substances in bast fibres, pulp, unused paper and manuscripts furnish important information on the development of paper and fix the approximate dates of the papers, manuscripts etc.

Mr. Trier covers a huge area as well as giving detailed particular descriptions. His is a multidisciplinary study involving History, Anthropology, Botany and even Chemistry. So it is natural that this book contains a few sweeping statements like " In the lowlands of the south there are dense, tropical jungles with a Hindu population deriving mainly from India. " (p.13) and " A number of mongoloid tribes came from Tibet, and in East Nepal even people with Indo-Chinese features are found.....(p.15) " and some points are repeated and over-generalised.

Secondly, his research covered only some parts of Nepal. And our knowledge of the diffusion of the paper-making industry towards the other Himalayan States is far from complete. The whole of the cis- and trans-Himalayan region i.e. from Kashmir to Assam and even upto South-East Asia will ultimately require further research. For instance, one remains sceptical about the coincidence of Sasuke Nakso's ' Arcs of cultivated plants ' and the ' Spread of paper making ' in the Himalaya.

Mr. Trier has furnished an important contribution to the science of paper and paper-making. His work should be considered a pioneer step in this field and should encourage other scholars to carry on his work. After this book, we can no longer discuss the origin and date of writing materials on the sole basis of their scripts, contents and conditions. He has shown us the importance of technical and macroscopical investigations which enable scholars to reach much more certain conclusions to problems than was possible in the past.

Navin Rai

B. Annotated Bibliography

This bibliography includes selected books and articles about Nepal in the disciplines of social sciences, published during the August 1972 to August 1973. This, however, is not a complete selection, but we hope that these titles with brief annotations will help the readers to assess the literature of their interest.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Sharma, Prayag Raj, "Art and Architecture", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 79-99.

An account of Nepalese art and architecture, mainly of the Kathmandu Valley, in relation to religion and culture upto the Malla period.

Sharma, Prayag Raj, Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin, West Nepal. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972. 116 pp. illus., maps, plates, bibliographies.

This study is based on author's study-tour of the Bheri and Karnali zones and presents the architectural and sculptural heritage of the region. References and detailed description of plates are given. Text in English and French languages. Title in French: Etude preliminaire sur l' Art et l' Architecture du bassin de la Karnali, Nepal de l'Ouest.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Dobremez, J.F., Vigny, F. et Williams, L.H.J., Bibliographie du Nepal. Vol. 3: Sciences naturelles. Tome2: Botanique. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972. 126 pp. illus. plates.

A comprehensive bibliography on botany in Western languages.

Gyawali, Bharat M. and Standrod, Garland L., compilers. Nepal Documentation, Kathmandu: CEDA, No. 1. June 1972 - No. 2 Dec. 1972 - No. 3 June 1973. Rs. 10/- \$4 each.

A current author - subject index of materials on the social sciences discipline of Nepal. The second issue includes a geographical index of the documents listed and a list of theses on Nepal. Includes selected articles, books, mimeographed papers on Nepal's social sciences areas both in Nepali and English languages.

BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM

Bernier, Ronald M., "Metaphorical Cannons and the Early Development of the Buddha Image", The Nepalese Perspective, IX:3 (Sept. 1973) pp. 13-34.

Discusses the emergence of the Buddha image with iconographic details of various parts of the images in different models.

CHHETRIS

Bista, Khem Bahadur, *Le Culte du Kuldevata au Nepal en particulier chez certains Ksatri de la valee de Kathmandu*. Paris: Centre National de la Rescherche Scientifique, 1972. 169 pp. illus. photos. bibliographies.

Presents a study of the cult of Kuldevata in Nepal. Explores practices and purposes of the worship of Kuldevata, the divinity worshipped by the Chhetris, one of the highest castes in Nepal. Also provides analytical study of different sub-castes of Chhetris. Text in French Language, Preface in English.

CIVIL SERVICE

Shrestha, Nutan R., Need for position classification in HMG, Civil service. Prashasan 3:2 (2029) pp. 67-78.

An analysis of the Nepal Civil Service and some suggestions for improvement.

CULTURE AND RELIGION

Caplan, A.P., *Priests and Cobblers; a study of Social change in Hindu village in Western Nepal*. Scranton: Chandler, 1972. 103 pp.

Jest Corneille, "Traditions et Croyances Religieuses des Habitants de la vallee de Tichrong (Nord-Ouest du Nepal)." Ethnographie, no. 65 (1971). pp. 66-86

Tichurong, the part of the Bheri river located between 2.000 and 3.500 m. north of the Dhaulagiri Range, constitutes an ethnical unit. The legends, myths and local religious traditions and economy of the inhabitants have been presented with illustrations. Text in French. Title in English: Religious beliefs of the inhabitants of Tichurong (Northwest Nepal).

Locke, John K., Rato Matsyendranath of Patan and Bungamati. Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 1973. X, 118 pp. illus. bibliographies. Rs. 24.67.

This is a very comprehensive study on the chariot festival - Ratha Jatra of Rato Matsyendranath in Patan. Along with the historical and religious description of the festival, the author has analysed the festival with cultural and anthropological stand-point. This study has revealed the details of the cult of Matsyendranath and the sources for the study.

Shaha, Rishikesh, "The Cultural Process in Nepal", Vasudha XIV:8 (Dec. - Jan. 1973) pp. 13-25.

Presents accounts of Cultural process in Nepal under social, religious and political perspective. 'A chapter from the author's forthcoming book' An Explanation of Nepal.'

Sharma, Prayag Raj, "Culture and Religion: Its Historical Background," In : Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 65-77.

Presents an analytical study on Nepalese culture and religion in historical perspective.

DIRECTORIES

Adri Trade Link, Kathmandu. Trade and Industrial Directory of Nepal, compiled, edited and designed by Adri Trade Link. Kathmandu, 1973. 485 pp.

Provides useful information on various aspects of trade, industry and commerce and detailed list of industrial firms, exporters and importers and similar trading concerns.

Bajracharya, Manik Lal, Nepal 1972-73: Trade and Information Directory. Kathmandu: The Eastern Trading and Investment Co., 1973. 591 pp. plates, tables. Rs. 60/- \$ 7/-

A comprehensive information directory on Nepal. It provides general information on various aspects of Nepal with an emphasis on development trends, trade and treaties. Trade Directory Section gives a detailed list of trade professionals, industries and manufacturers, and exporters.

ECONOMICS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Asian Development Bank and His Majesty's Government of Nepal. Chitwan Valley Development Project Nepal. Essen (Germany):

Agrar-Und Hydrotechnic GMBH, Sept. 1972. V.P. Charts, tables, illus.

A detailed plan for the development of Chitwan Valley with primary emphasis on agriculture and livestock development. Project organization and management, Project Implementation Schedule, Total Costs and Economic Evaluation of the Project are also scheduled in detail.

Dharmarajan, S., "Ferment in Nepal, II. The Economic Picture", The Times of India (11 Sept. 1972)

A brief economic picture of Nepal mainly of trade and commerce.

Lohani, Prakash C., "Industrial Policy: The Problem Child of History and Planning in Nepal", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 203-217.

Presents a critical survey of Nepal's industrial policy its inconsistencies and problems from the beginning of the industrial development efforts in Nepal with an emphasis on changes and revisions of current policies.

Nepal Industrial Development Corporation. Prospects of Industrial Investment in Nepal. Kathmandu : N.I.D.C., 1973. VIII, 255 pp. maps. tables.

Provides comprehensive information on Nepal's industries, investment prospects, industrial policies and development programmes.

Pant, Yadav Prasad., " Planning and Development in Nepal", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 167-180.

Presents an analytical study of Nepal's plans and development policies, and constraints for their implementation. Includes statistics.

Pradhan, Prachanda, ed. A New Dimension in Nepal's Development: The Regional Approach in Planning and People Oriented Development Strategy. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. 106 pp. map, tables. Rs. 6/- \$ 1.50.

'This volume is an attempt to put forth the policy implications and policy adjustments that have been created by the introduction of new dimension in Nepal's development.' It

contains articles by renowned planners and administrators.

Rana, Pashupati Shumshere J.B. "Trade", In : Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu : CEDA, 1973. pp. 219-237.

An analytical study of Nepal's foreign trade, its historic setting, current trends. Presents solutions for a more diversified trade policy. Includes informative trade statistics.

Rana, Ratna Shumshere J.B. "Agriculture in Nepal: Some viewpoints", In : Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu : CEDA, 1973. pp. 191-201.

Presents a comprehensive review of present agricultural patterns, yield trends of various crops, and institutional aspects of agriculture. Includes statistics.

Regmi, Mahesh Chandra., "Land Tenure", In : Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu : CEDA, 1973. pp. 181-190.

The author presents an analytical study of various forms of land tenure in Nepal and suggests a new system of land tenure for agrarian development.

Wildavsky, Aaron., "Why Planning Fails in Nepal", Administrative Science Quarterly, (Dec. 1972) pp. 508-527.

The author has explored various reasons and factors which create problems in the implementation and target achievements in Nepalese plans. Among various reasons, the author emphasizes that the failure of planning in Nepal is mainly due to the limited capacity to administer development projects, and formulation of poor project proposals.

EDUCATION

Pradhan, Ratna Man., "In-service Teacher Education in Nepal", Education Quarterly, XVI : 1 (Jan. - March 1973) pp. 1-19.

Highlights the ongoing in-service teacher education in Nepal with an emphasis on creating professional confidence among the teachers.

Shrestha, Bihari K. and Gurung, Sant B., Equality of Access of women to Education in Pokhara (A Sociological Survey). Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. vii, 116 pp. mimeo. map, tables, bibliography.

This study undertaken for UNESCO, Paris, presents the sociological factors governing equality of access of women to education, teacher training and teaching careers in Pokhara. The school going behaviour of the male and female children of various ethnic groups in Pokhara has also been studied with socio-economic viewpoint.

Shrestha, Kedar N., "Educational Planning and the New Education Plan", Education Quarterly, XVI: 1 (Jan. - March 1973) pp. 1-19.

Discusses various past steps undertaken to formulate an educational policy and relates those to the New Education Plan, along with an account of the concept of Educational Planning in developing countries.

ETHNOLOGY

Bista, Dor Bahadur., "The People", IN: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, pp. 35-46.

An essay on various ethnic groups of Nepal.

Shrestha D.B. and others., Ethnic Groups of Nepal and their ways of Living. Kathmandu : Authors, 1972. 84 pp. illus. Rs. 15/-

Provides brief introductory accounts of Nepalese ethnic groups and their ways of living.

FOREIGN POLICY

Centre for Economic Development and Administration,. Foreign Policy and Development: Report of the Seminar, Jan. 15 - 17, 1973. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. V.P. mimeo.

A seminar organized for HMG foreign service officers and others in the related area. Includes papers and discussions on various aspects of Nepal's foreign policy mainly the political, economic and organisational aspects.

Muni, S.D., Foreign Policy of Nepal. Delhi: National, 1973. IX, 320 pp. bibliographies. Rs. 37.50.

This work 'the revised version' of author's Ph.D. dissertation surveys and highlights Nepal's foreign policy with accounts of her role as a small nation in international politics since the early fifties.

Shaha, Rishikesh., "Foreign Policy", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 241-262.

Presents an account of various aspects of Nepal's foreign policy along with analytical study of politics of foreign aid and its impact on the shaping of Nepal's foreign policy. Includes foreign aid data.

GEOGRAPHY, PHYSICAL

Gurung, Harka., "The Land", In Nepal in Perspective, ed, by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 25-33.

A comprehensive essay on Nepal's geography and landscape pattern.

GEOLOGY

Sharma, Chandra K., Geology of Nepal. Kathmandu: Mani Ram Sharma, 1973. 189 pp. illus., maps. Bibliographies.

Presents geological accounts of various parts of Nepal with details of physical features, Himalayan geological setting and mineral occurrences.

HIMALAYAN KINGDOMS

Gordon, E. Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan (Himalayan Kingdoms) in pictures. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH, 1972. 64 pp illus.

HISTORY

Bhandari, D.R., The role of Shah dynasty in Nepalese history. Ramjham, 8:3 (Dec.1972) pp. 22-26.

Boulnois L. and Chen Ho-Chia., Le Nepal et la China en 1732-1734, A propos de trois lettres des rois Newar a L'empereur de China. Paris; off print from the Journal Asiatique, 1972. pp. 131-154.

"The present article deals with three letters sent in 1734 A.D. to the Emperor of China by the three Newar Kings of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon in the Nepal Valley, and reported in full length by a Chinese official who wrote about his travels in Tibet in the first half of XVIIIth century. The reasons why the three Kings of Nepal wanted to assure themselves of China's goodwill are not quite clear; the letters contain a picturesque list of the presents sent to the Emperor by the Nepalese Kings, and one of the most interesting points of the text concerns the geographical names used by the Chinese - Mandchu author:- most names used for Nepal being Chinese phonetic rendition of the Tibetan transcriptions of the autochtone, Newari names of Nepalese places.."

Gewali, Surya Bikram, "Political History", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu, CEDA, 1973. pp. 47-63.

A brief historical account of Nepal from the beginning to the end of Rana regime.

Hodgson, B.H., Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet, together with further papers on the geography, ethnology and commerce of those countries. Amsterdam, 1972.

"Corrected and augmented edition of two earlier collections of essays entitled 'Illustrations....1841' and 'SelectionsXXVII, 1857'. Reprint with supplement of additions and corrections from the author's copy, ed. by M.P. Saha and with other additions ommitted in the former edition."

Jain, M.S. Emergence of a New Aristocracy in Nepal (1837-58).
Agra: Sri Ram Mehra and Co., 1972. 220 pp. bibliography.
Rs. 28/-

Presents an account of two decades (1837-58) of Nepalese history which was a period of emergence of Rana rule in Nepal. Jang Bahadur's plans to usurp powers, his administration and relations with British India during the period have been highlighted.

Malla, Kamal P. and Rana, Pashupati Shumshere J.B., "Introduction to Nepal in Perspective", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu, CEDA, 1973. pp. 1-25.

A chapter of introduction to 'Nepal in Perspective' which traces Nepal's social history upto the present time.

Stiller, Ludwig F. "A Note on Himalayan Trade", Journal of the Tribhuvan University, VII: 1 (Nov. 1972) pp. 1-34.

Presents a historical review of Nepal's trade with Tibet and China.

Stiller, Ludwig F., The Rise of the House of Gorkha: A Study in the unification of Nepal, 1768-1816. New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1973. xvi, 390 pp. illus. map. (Bibliotheca Himalayaica Series 14, Vol. 15.) Includes Bibliography.
Library Ed. Rs. 75/- Deluxe Ed. Rs. 100/-

Provides an in-depth study of the origin of Nepal as a unified Gorkha Kingdom, especially the efforts of Prithvinarayan Shah to build up a unified nation consolidating the scattered mini-states. Relations with the British-India, Tibet and

China during the period have also been highlighted. Bibliography and footnotes include citations of rare and unpublished documents.

Thapa, Netra B., A Short History of Nepal. Kathmandu. Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1973. 297 pp. Rs. 15/-

An introductory and short history of Nepal useful as an elementary text book.

ICONS

Riccardi, Theodore, Jr., "A Note on a Nepalese Image of Surya - Narayana," Kailash, 1:1 (1973) pp. 89-90.

The author has presented an image of the sun god - Surya-Narayana which he found in Patan and has discussed that the image falls in part anthropomorphic and in part symbolic which is different from the various known images of the sun god in India.

INSCRIPTIONS

Macdonald, Alexander W. "A Nepalese Copper Plate from the Time of Prithvinarayan Shaha's father", Kailash, 1:1 (1973) pp. 6-7.

The author presents details of a tama-patra which he photographed in the bazar at Bodhnath in February 1962. The copy of tama-patra is included with a location map and the inscriptions have been transliterated into Roman script.

INTELLECTUAL CULTURE

Malla, Kamal P., "The Intellectual in Nepalese Society," In : Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 263-290.

The author has traced the historical development of intellect of Nepalese writers and academicians. The role of the educated mass in the society has also been highlighted critically.

KIRATS

Upreti, P.R., "A Review of the Kirat Problem", The Nepalese Perspective, IX:3 (Sept. 1973) pp. 3-8.

An essay on Kirats and their origin.

LAMAISM

Kvaerne, Per., "Bonpo Studies: the A Khrid system of Meditation," Kailash, 1:1 (1973) pp. 19-50.

"The purpose of the present work is to provide a basis for a more detailed study of the nature and history of the system of meditation and spiritual realization peculiar to the Bonpo lamaist tradition..." Includes informative notes, plates and references.

Silverstone, Marilyn., "Five Nyingmapa Lamas in Sikkim," Kailash, 1:1 (1973) pp. 9-17.

Gives an account of highly respected five Lamas in Sikkim. The photographs and brief life-sketches of the Lamas provide information on their meditations and religious philosophy of Lamaism.

LANGUAGES

Acharya, Shivaraja. "An Elucidatory Note on the Nature of the Sanskrit Long Vowels," Journal of the Tribhuvan University, VII: 1 (Nov. 1972) pp. 74-83.

Discusses the use of vowels in Nepali language with Sanskrit example.

Kansakar, T.R. "Linguistic Survey of Nepal: A Proposal" Journal of the Tribhuvan University, VII:1 (Nov. 1972) pp. 35-48.

Discusses the needs for linguistic survey and research in Nepal

Kansakar, T.R. "Linguistics and the study of Newari Language," Journal of the Tribhuvan University, VII:1 (Nov. 1972) pp. 49-58.

Presents a brief linguistic description of Newari Phonology and Grammer.

Malla, Kamal P. "Language", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. pp. 101-118.

Presents an analytical and detailed account of languages spoken in Nepal, their origin and percentage of people speaking these languages.

Summer Institute of Linguistics. University of Oklahoma.

Clause, Sentence and Discourse Patterns in selected language of Nepal, by Austin Hale and others. Produced by University Press, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, 1973. 4 parts. (SIL Publications in Linguistics and related fields, Publication No. 40, ed. by Irvine Davis.)

Contents - Part I, General Approach. Part II, Clause. Part III, Texts. Part IV, Word Lists.

Summer Institute of Linguistics. University of Oklahoma. Patterns in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse in selected languages of India and Nepal, by Ronald L. Trail and others. Produced by University Press, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, 1973. 4 parts. (SIL Publications in Linguistics and related fields, Publication No. 41, ed. by Irvine Davis.)

Contents- Part I. Sentence and Discourse.-Part II. Clause.-Part III. Texts.- Part IV. Word Lists.

LIMBUS

Sagant, Philippe, "Prêtres Limbu et Catégories Domestiques", Kailash, 1:1 (1973). pp. 51-75. (In French language with English summary).

This article provides details of Limbu household with a view to formulate differences between the Phedangma and the Bijuwa, two main categories of Limbu priest in Eastern Nepal. Author has analysed the findings with illustrations and references.

LITERATURE

Khanal, Yadu Nath, "Literature", In: Nepal in Perspective, ed. by Rana and Malla. Kathmandu : CEDA, 1973.

A comprehensive survey of Nepali literature. Presents brief analysis of renowned writers and their works.

MIGRATION

Gurung, Sant B., Buchmann, H. and others. Causes and Impact of Migration (Preliminary Survey in Surkhet Region). Kathmandu: CEDA, 1973. IV, 116, 13 pp. mimeo. maps, tables, bibliography.

This joint study by CEDA and Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich, presents the causes of migration and its impact on the migrants and the economy of Surkhet region.

The tables provide useful information for further study in the region.

PANCHAYAT SYSTEM

Sinha, U.N., Panchayat Democracy of Nepal: In Theory and Practice. Kathmandu: Department of Information., Ministry of Communications, 1972. 140 pp.

Provides an introduction to Panchayat Democracy and its functional units, description of constitution and various social aspects of the Panchayat System.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Dharmarajan, S., "Ferment in Nepal: I. Demand for Political reform", The Times of India (9 Sept. 1972).

Describes the current political scene of Nepal in brief.

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